

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

U.S. Congress House
**COMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2309

BILLS TO REPEAL THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS,
TO PUT THE CHINESE ON A QUOTA BASIS, AND
TO PERMIT THEIR NATURALIZATION

MAY 19, 20, 26, 27, AND JUNE 2, AND 3, 1943

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COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

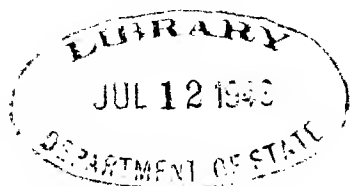
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REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman), presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

For the purpose of the record and in view of the statements made yesterday by the representative of the Justice Department, that my bills as drawn will not accomplish the purpose of repealing the Chinese exclusion laws, the chairman, who has two bills, H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, has withdrawn them.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Then the Kennedy bill will be considered this morning.
(The bill reads as follows:)

[H. R. 1882, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.]

A BILL To grant to the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights to citizenship

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Chinese Citizenship Act of 1943."

SEC. 2. Chapter 7 of title 8 of the United States Code, Annotated, known as the "Chinese Exclusion Act" is hereby repealed.

SEC. 3. Section 703 of chapter 11 of title 8 of the United States Code, Annotated, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 703. Same; race.

"The right to become a naturalized citizen under the provisions of this chapter shall extend only to white persons, persons of African nativity or descent, and descendants of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall prevent the naturalization of native-born Filipinos having the honorable service in the United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard as specified in section 724, nor of former citizens of the United States, who are otherwise eligible to naturalization under the provisions of section 717, nor of Chinese."

This Act shall take effect immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Congressman Kennedy here?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As you present your witnesses, will you please have them limit their testimony to the points in question?

Mr. MASON. Instruct them to be as brief as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Now, the program will be to have the hearing run until a quarter of 12 and then we will recess until 2:30. In the afternoon we will try to work along here until about 4:30 to hear as many witnesses as possible.

Now, most likely these hearings will go over to next Tuesday or next Wednesday, and if any of the opponents of the bill, whom I see

in the room today, want to be heard during the period of the proponents' hearing I think the chairman will recognize them in view of the fact that a number of them are from out of town. We have, so far, over a hundred witnesses who have indicated that they desire to be heard. If we have no separate hearings for the proponents and the opponents of the bills before us we will separate the testimony later so that we can have a better arrangement and can have all the testimony in opposition to the bills in one place.

Now, Mr. Kennedy, do you want to make a statement discussing H. R. 1882? That is you bill, isn't it?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I of course do not propose to say much about this bill. It is a very simple bill, and I know that you are all very familiar with the contents of it.

For your information, I have invited some folks here today who have an intimate knowledge of the Chinese situation; and by that I mean the point of view of the Chinese, gained by long years of service in the Orient.

Most of these are American citizens and they are anxious to give you the benefit of their advice.

I have asked them to be as brief as possible, as the chairman has indicated, and in a number of cases they have prepared a memorandum which they will submit to the committee.

I, too, Mr. Chairman, would like the privilege of filing with the clerk of this committee resolutions and letters and papers that I have received pro and con on this particular bill, and rather than take up time reading them all, with the permission of the committee I will submit them to your clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Without objection, we will accept them.

Do you want to make a statement?

Mr. KENNEDY. I have no further statement to make because I think the bill speaks for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. And your memorandum will give your views which will be incorporated into the record.

Mr. KENNEDY. Thank you. I think we all understand the bill and I have asked a Chinese bishop who has served not only in China but in other parts of the world and who has visited practically ever battlefield—every Chinese battlefield—and is serving as Director of Chinese Hospitalization and other welfare work, and who happens to be in America today, I have asked him to come here and speak to the committee briefly.

Bishop, will you please address the committee at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Who is it, Mr. Kennedy?

Mr. KENNEDY. Bishop Yu Pin.

(The statements, letters, and papers referred to are as follows:)

URBINUS REGIONAL WOMEN'S GUILD OF THE EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH, Norristown, Pa., May 12, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KENNEDY: The Ursinus Regional Women's Guild representing the women of 23 churches of the Philadelphia Synodical Women's Guild of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at its convention in the Royersford Evangelical and Reformed Church April 15th, 1943, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

That a letter of commendation be sent to Representative Martin J. Kennedy, for his proposal that the Oriental Exclusion Act be so amended as to permit the entrance and citizenship of Chinese in the United States as a first step toward the complete abrogation of the Japanese Exclusion Act.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. JOSEPH A. BERGEY,
Secretary.
Mrs. PAUL S. KRASLEY,
President.

THE PRESBYTERY OF LOS ANGELES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Los Angeles, Calif., April 23, 1943.

The Honorable MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The Presbytery of Los Angeles of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America representing 120 churches, 330 ministers, and over 50,000 communicants in southern California adopted the following resolution and directed that a copy be forwarded to you:

Whereas the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 bars Orientals from citizenship in the United States of America except by birth; and

Whereas the Chinese have for more than 4½ years borne the brunt of Japanese aggression and sorely need both moral and material support; and

Whereas repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act as far as it relates to the nationals of the United Nations would raise her morale and would demonstrate that we believe in the principles of equality for which we are fighting: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Presbytery of Los Angeles urge the repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act as far as it relates to the nationals of the United Nations and the placing of these nationals on the quota basis which governs European nationals.

Attest:

THOMAS HOLDEN, Stated Clerk.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE, Washington, D. C., February 18, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN-KENNEDY: I thank you for the copy of your bill to admit Chinese immigrants and for the accompanying statement.

I am placing both in the hands of National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service

My personal hope is that in this matter your timely action may receive favorable consideration.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM F. MONTAVON.

CLAREMONT, CALIF., March 6, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very much pleased to note that you have introduced a bill to repeal the Oriental exclusion laws as they apply to China. I believe that this is a step in the direction of righting a wrong done many years ago to a great and friendly nation, now our fighting ally (and how they can fight!).

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

For a long time I have been trying to do what I could toward this end, and the present seems to me to be the psychological time to make the effort. I trust that your action may have wide support and that the outcome may be favorable. I am writing my own Congressman, Jerry Voorhis, and asking his support of your measure.

Yours very truly,

A. E. BRUCE.

CHINESE NEWS SERVICE,
New York, N. Y., February 18, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MR. DEAR MR. KENNEDY: Permit me to express my gratitude to you for introducing the bill which will grant the Chinese rights of entry into the United States and rights of citizenship. I am sure this bill will win the universal acclaim of the Chinese people.

Will you be kind enough to send me a copy of the bill and your letter to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek.

Yours respectfully,

LIN MOUSHENG,
Editor of Contemporary China.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
Congressman from New York, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: My father was minister to China. He lived there 20 years. His uncle William H. Seward had him appointed.

While there he wrote his book, Chinese Immigration, protesting against the Chinese Exclusion Act. When they passed that act over his protest he resigned and came home. Even back here he fought the issue, and I was brought up in an atmosphere of Ming bowls, jade, and Chinese robes, and in me was imbued a high regard for that oriental nation.

I have been sent a copy of your bill for the annulment of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Would it be possible for me to attend the arguments when it comes to the House?

My work here is with Foreign Funds Control, in the Treasury Department. My telephone Executive 6400, extension 5448.

A glow of grateful satisfaction will attend the inevitable culmination of your effort.

Sincerely yours,

ANNE SEWARD.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
New York, N. Y., March 8, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN KENNEDY: I shall appreciate if you would send me two copies of the resolution regarding Chinese immigration—placing China within the quota—which you have introduced in the Congress.

I have advocated this idea for a good many years; and I wish to extend my hearty congratulation for this patriotic measure which will, more than anything else, help in bringing better understanding between the East and the West.

When the bill will be heard before the committee I shall be very glad to appear before the committee as an expert on the subject to support your measure. With the kindest regard, I remain

Very sincerely,

TARAKNATH DAS.

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

COMMISSION ON WORLD PEACE
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH,
Chicago, Ill., March 2, 1943.

The Honorable MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: I have learned through the Foreign Policy Association that on February 17 you introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to permit Chinese to enter the United States and to be naturalized on the same basis as other persons administered under the immigration laws.

Please send me from 2 to 25 copies of your bill—the latter number if it is possible for you to send that quantity.

Our Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church heartily endorses this proposal which is in line with the action taken at our annual meeting, November 4-5, at Evanston, Ill. This action was as follows:

"Reaffirming the 1940 general conference stand that there should be no discrimination in the national immigration laws against an individual because of race, color, or creed, the commission asked for immediate application of this principle by permitting the immigration of Chinese upon the same basis that governs immigration from European countries."

Kindly let us know if there is any way in which we can be of special assistance. Thanking you and assuring you that the members of our commission and other leaders in our church will approve of the introduction of your bill into the House, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES F. BOSS, JR.,
Executive Secretary.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, March 4, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
Member of Congress from New York,
House of Representative Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I want to congratulate you for your courage in the matter of removing the discrimination against our Chinese allies. This Oriental exclusion business represents one of our most stupid episodes in international relations.

In Moore's With Japan's Leaders, pages 73 and 74, President Coolidge commented on the Oriental Exclusion Act as follows:

"We have had for many years an understanding with Japan by which the Japanese Government has voluntarily undertaken to prevent the emigration of laborers to the United States, and in view of this historic relation and of the feeling which inspired it, it would have been much better, in my judgment, and more effective in the actual control of immigration, if we had continued to invite the cooperation which Japan was ready to give and had thus avoided creating any ground for misapprehension by an unnecessary statutory agreement."

"That course would not have derogated from the authority of the Congress to deal with the question in any exigency requiring its action. There is scarcely any ground for disagreement as to the result we want, but this method of securing it is unnecessary and deplorable at this time."

Secretary of State Hughes, in commenting on this immigration act said:

"The affair was the most regrettable of his experiences in the State Department."

I am doing a great deal of public speaking and I am continually stressing the need of our frank facing of this oriental exclusion. I will appreciate it if you will keep me advised from time to time as to the progress you are making.

I have retired temporarily from engineering work and I am giving all my time to our changing social order problems. I am including two things that you may find of interest that have been developed as a result of this intensive work. I am especially anxious to get your reaction to the World Charter idea.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL S. WYER.

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., March 8, 1943.

Representative MARTIN KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Many mission boards are deeply interested in the measure introduced by you for consideration of racial equality for Chinese in the United States

and with reference to the Exclusion Act, and this office would very much appreciate having a few copies of this bill so that it might be studied and supported by those concerned.

Thanking you for sending us these as soon as possible,
Sincerely yours,

MARGARET ELDER, *Office Secretary.*

ADVANCED SCHOOL OF EDUCATION,
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, February 27, 1943.

HON. M. J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

SIR: May I have a copy of the proposed bill, H. R. 1882, dealing with the removal of disabilities imposed upon Chinese in the matter of naturalization and citizenship? I am much interested in seeing these slights against a great people removed, and I hope that all such regrettable reflections upon the social stature of Asiatics may soon disappear.

I hope that I have described the bill correctly enough so that it may be recognized. Thanks in advance for whatever consideration you are able to give this request.

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. BLACK.

CHINESE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.,
New York, N. Y., February 18, 1943.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. ROOSEVELT: On this, the auspicious occasion of the brief sojourn of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek at the Executive Mansion, the officers and members of the Chinese Women's Association pray that you will accept our deep gratitude for the many evidences of your sympathy for our cause.

We feel that this sympathy and manifest understanding has been instrumental, in the example it has set, in the voluntary rescinding by the United Nations of extraterritoriality rights in China.

We feel confident, also, that this continued sympathy and understanding will support us in our plea for a partial revision of the immigration laws of this country, so that a quota may be established—however limited it might be—whereby members of the Chinese race would be accorded the privileges enjoyed by our companions in ideology and arms.

This association does not advocate, nor is it our wish, that immigration regulations be revised to a point which would invite an influx of workers, from any nation, who would inevitably disrupt our labor balance, or otherwise disturb the economic equilibrium of this country.

It is our wish, however, that a means might be provided which would effectually and instantaneously, dissipate a vicious propaganda now emanating from Japanese sources. In occupied China today, the morale of the Chinese people is being savagely assailed by the irrefutable claims of Japanese that those who would accept us as their brothers-in-arms yet regard us as strangers within their gates.

We in this country know, of course, and we are thankful that our knowledge is shared by so many in the homeland, that this is false and shallow pretense, and that the mantle of "Crusader" assumed by the Japanese in their boasted "war between the races" fits but ill upon their shoulders. Yes, we know this, but unfortunately there are so many millions of our countrymen who do not. They see only the cold facts before them.

God, America, and our own brave armies helping us, we aim to strip this false mantle from the ruthless invader who mocks us. We are confident of ultimate military victory, which only rests in the lap of time—and Chinese, as you know, are proverbially patient. Nevertheless, we feel that there are certain measures which should be adopted now, and it is our belief that should token recognition of our equality in the newer, freer order of democracy be forthcoming, the blow dealt to Japanese prestige before the peoples of Asia would be a fatal one—that prestige which already has been badly shaken by the voluntary rescinding of extraterritoriality rights.

A majority of the members of this organization owe sole allegiance to the United States of America. We are proud of that. We are proud that our fathers, our brothers, our sons, and even our daughters are serving with the armed forces. We are happy to have the opportunity, and the privilege, of contributing our worldly goods to the great cause. But we are racially of a common origin, and it would be unnatural if we did not take pride in an ancestry extending through long centuries of high culture.

Our wish, therefore, is that a means might be found whereby a limited number of Chinese would be accorded the same welcome, and the same privileges now being granted the Hebrew, the Negro, the Slav, and the numerous divers races who yearly seek refuge on our shores. It matters little if the maximum is 100, or 50, or even 10, so long as that privilege exists and can be made known to those in the conquered areas of China.

We feel that if this privilege is granted us, there is no Chinese in this country who would not go far beyond the contribution now so freely given, in the sacrifice of his fortune, and his very life, to preserve the ideals of America, the traditional friend of China.

We thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt, and through you we thank the President and the people of the United States, for all that you have done, and all that you propose to do for the land of our forefathers.

May God bless you and keep you.

Very sincerely yours,

CHINESE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INC.,
(Signed) THEODORA CHAN WANG, *President.*

FRANK D. CAMPBELL,
PASTOR, THE METHODIST CHURCH,
Neoga, Ill., February 20, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: From the Congressional Record I learn of your bill to grant the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and the rights of citizenship. I congratulate you on this and the very gracious letter you have addressed to Madame Chiang. It is fine to have this frank acknowledgment of an ancient wrong that should have been righted before now.

A month ago I sent my apologies to this noble Chinese woman for I have been deeply concerned about the race and color discrimination in our naturalization laws for the past dozen years. I would certainly like to see the Chinese relieved of this, the grossest insult our country has ever tendered a friendly nation.

But there are still better reasons why the Congress of the United States should completely abandon the practice of color and racial discrimination against any Asiatic people. We should set the world a better example as well as other nations, our own States, groups, and individuals. It is just as wrong for Congress to legislate race discrimination as for any nation or people to practice this evil.

I have a very special interest in seeing the confidence of the 390,000,000 brown Caucasians of India won by the English-speaking peoples. Our daughter, an only child, is there and my life is otherwise identified with the people of that ancient land. We can help establish faith in British promises to India by a better national attitude toward the people of India which should find expression in our naturalization and immigration laws.

Moreover we need India and the friendship of the Indians, too. China needs their help also. India is one of the United Nations and her people should receive such courtesy from the United States as will help them to welcome union and the opportunity to cooperate with us. Let us not place too much confidence in the considerable number of white soldiers said to be in India. These white men can be better employed than against revolting Indians.

I trust you will give my proposed bill careful study and that its principles may win your approval and unfailing support.

Yours for a democratic world order,

FRANK D. CAMPBELL.

P. S.: Please read Drop the Asiatic Color Bar in the Christian Century of February 17.

WORLD-WIDE INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

By Frank D. Campbell

I plead for complete repeal of race and color discrimination in the naturalization and immigration laws of the United States. Let us, as a Nation, practice democracy with all men and practice discrimination against none. For the world's worst example of racial arrogance is found in our national laws discriminating against the yellow and brown half of the human family, including 800,000,000 Chinese and Indians.

Therefore, let us appeal for legislation by the Congress of the United States to eliminate racial ineligibility to citizenship and the exclusion system, based thereon, by the enactment of the following provisions:

1. That laws providing naturalization to citizenship in the United States shall apply hereafter to all aliens alike, irrespective of race, color, or place of birth.

2. The provisions governing quota immigrants from European and certain other countries shall be extended to include all persons native to Asia and the islands adjacent thereto.

3. No person, otherwise admissible by law, shall be excluded, or prevented from entering the United States, or be ineligible to citizenship, on account of race, color, or place of birth.

CHURCH COMMITTEE FOR CHINA RELIEF,
New York, N. Y., March 18, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please permit me to extend my personal hearty commendation of your splendid public service in introducing H. R. 1882.

We are confident that the bill will command wide support even though there may be bitter opposition.

I shall present it to our executive committee at its next meeting which comes in the middle of April. Will you kindly send me a copy of the bill?

Sincerely yours,

FRED ATKINS MOORE, *Director.*

P. S.: After the above was transcribed we received a copy of the extract from the Congressional Record which contains the bill as well as your splendid letter to Madame Chiang.

NATIONAL COUNCIL PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
New York, N. Y., March 24, 1943.

The Hon. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you for sending me the copy of the Congressional Record embodying your remarks on the bill concerning rights of citizenship for the Chinese.

It seems to me that this is something that should be done; and I wish that once and for all we might do away with the Oriental Exclusion Act, thus lifting from the Chinese the unfair stigma that has existed for so long a time.

Very truly yours,

A. B. PARSON.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, March 30, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The executive board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the University of California urges the immediate passage of H. R. 1882, introduced by the Honorable Martin J. Kennedy, repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act and placing the Chinese on the quota basis.

They feel that California, responsible for the Exclusion Act, no longer needed, should be active in securing its repeal, as an act of justice and friendship for our good neighbor, China, and that the act, if passed immediately, would be an

appropriate parting gift to our distinguished and beloved guest, Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Yours very truly,

MABEL M. RUSHFORTH.
LEILA ANDERSON.
RUTH B. VICKERY.
MARGRET CAMPBELL.
MARY C. FREEBORN.
MABEL H. PEDDER.
JEAN W. WOOD.

NATIONAL C. I. O. COMMITTEE FOR
AMERICAN AND ALLIED WAR RELIEF,
April 1, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
Congressman from New York,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: I have read with pleasure your interesting statement in the Congressional Record regarding a bill to grant to the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights of citizenship. Your letter to Madame Chiang Kai-shek was particularly interesting.

Consistent with the democratic philosophy of the C. I. O. and characteristic of the activities of the National C. I. O. Committee for American and Allied War Relief, I endorse your policy, commend your initiative, and admire your courage.

Respectfully,

GEORGE F. DELAPLANE, *Director.*

DIVISION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH,
New York, N. Y., April 6, 1943.

MARTIN J. KENNEDY, Esq.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: In reply to your letter of March 30, I am very happy to send a copy of the resolution adopted by our Board of Missions at its meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 5 last. The resolution was as follows:

"We urge the immediate repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act as it now applies to all nationals, except those from any nation with which we are now at war, and we desire to express the hope that after peace has been declared all orientals may be placed upon the same basis as peoples from other sections of the world."

A somewhat similar resolution was adopted dealing with the whole situation of the Japanese in this country, and for your general information but not on the immediate subject of your inquiry, I would also quote this action. It is attached to this letter as a separate document.

I express the appreciation of the many hundreds of thousands of thinking Methodists because of the agitation which is now beginning in Congress for the rectification of this long-standing affront to our oriental neighbors.

Very cordially yours,

FRANK T. CARTWRIGHT, *Associate Secretary.*

It was voted to adopt this resolution:

We recommend the adoption of the following resolution regarding Japanese-American resettlement:

We deplore the circumstances that have eventuated in the evacuation from their homes on the west coast of 110,000 Japanese-Americans, aliens and citizens alike, and their removal first to temporary assembly centers and now to more permanent relocations projects.

We desire to express our heartiest sympathy to our pastors and members and to all the evacuees in the hardships this experience has brought them. We realize that many have suffered great financial losses, and all have undergone much inconvenience. The plans of years have been wrecked and the education of the children and young people interrupted.

It is a cause of reassurance that the authorities have carried out this measure with consideration and kindness. The evacuees, too, have cooperated with admirable courage and loyalty. Christian pastors have been and are the leaders in seeking to bring forth from these painful experiences many fruitful results and in sustaining the morale of the entire group. We are proud of their splendid spirit and service.

We desire to reiterate our confidence in the loyalty of our citizens who stem from Japanese ancestry. Hundreds of young men, many of them sons of our own pastors and members, are serving in the United States Army. Japanese-American soldiers are now giving their lives at Guadalcanal, New Guinea, and north Africa.

With much appreciation we would commend our Caucasian churches for their splendid expression of Christian love in self-sacrificing services rendered the evacuees during their days of greatest need.

We note with hopefulness the present policy of the War Relocation Authority in promoting as wide as possible a dispersal of the evacuees through individual resettlement in normal American communities. We view this as a challenge to our people and would prayerfully commend it to them, bespeaking for selected and accredited individuals or families a friendly welcome and such aid as they may need.

We desire to continue to assist the young people who are being and will be released from camps to pursue their education in our colleges and universities. They need our friendship and practical help.

As a long-time objective we would pledge our board and summon our entire church to unceasing efforts in the Christianizing of attitudes toward racial minorities among us, and not least toward those of oriental extraction. We hope for the full protection of civil rights and the natural return to free American life of all persons now affected by emergency war measures. We must work for the removal of all traces of racial discrimination in the treatment of our fellow Americans.

The assignment of missionaries, returned from Japan, to "Reconciliation Ministry" in this country has proven far-sighted strategy. We rejoice in the remarkable work they have accomplished and heartily recommend their continuance in this vastly important field.

These returned missionaries have brought untold spiritual and practical reinforcement to the Japanese Provisional Annual Conference, as it faced exceedingly difficult and perplexing problems. They have also been builders of good will and understanding in a multitude of Caucasian groups.

We note with profound appreciation the remarkably able service of Dr. Frank Herron Smith, not only to our own work but to the work of all the Protestant churches. As chairman of the Protestant Commission for Japanese Service he has helped to unify all Protestant activities. At the same time he has been a valuable liaison officer between the church and the Government.

The unity of this Board of Missions and Church Extension has been strikingly revealed in the hearty cooperation of all its divisions and departments in this overwhelming task for which there were no guiding precedents.

We feel the particular urgency of this entire undertaking in view of the direct relation not only to the unity of American life but also to the future of the World Mission and of that new and better order in which, under God's providence, we are to have our part.

TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH,
Berkeley, Calif., March 26, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Woman's Society of Christian Service of Trinity Methodist Church, Berkeley, Calif., by a unanimous vote, urged the immediate passage of H. R. 1882, introduced by the Honorable Martin J. Kennedy, repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act and placing the Chinese on the quota basis.

They felt that California, responsible for the Exclusion Act, no longer needed, should be active in securing its repeal, as an act of justice and friendship for our good neighbor, China, and that the act, if passed immediately, would be an appropriate parting gift to our distinguished and beloved guest, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek.

Mrs. A. W. RUSHFORTH, President,
Mrs. C. W. BARNETT, Secretary.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM,
PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH,
Philadelphia, March 30, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: At its last meeting the Pennsylvania board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom voted unanimously that you should have some word of our warm approval of your bill to repeal the provision relating to Chinese in the Oriental Exclusion Act. The Chinese are our allies in the great struggle in which we are engaged in the name of justice and equality for all, and they have borne more than their share of the suffering entailed in that struggle. Regardless of any other reasons, this ought in the eyes of our Government to make them worthy of the right to enter this country and to gain American citizenship.

We appreciate very much your honesty and sense of justice in introducing this bill and we shall support it in every way possible.

Sincerely yours,

HARRIET H. DICKEY
(Mrs. John M. Dickey),
Corresponding Secretary.

BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH,
New York, N. Y., March 25, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: It was with personal pleasure as well as official approval that I read the reprint from the Congressional Record telling of the bill you have presented in Congress to grant citizenship rights to Chinese. Having been a missionary in China and consequently knowing the sterling character of the people of that land, and knowing the deep resentment which they feel because of the Asiatic Exclusion Act, I am glad that you have had the vision and courage to present this bill. I trust that it may have early and favorable consideration by both Houses of Congress.

At the meeting in December of last year our board of missions, representing the missionary outreach of the 8,000,000 Methodists, unanimously approved a resolution looking toward the immediate abrogation of the Exclusion Act as it refers to our allies, and expressed the hope that when peace comes it may be abrogated as regards all Asiatics.

If a copy of this resolution will be of value to you in pressing the case before committees and the House, let me know and I will send it at once.

Very truly yours,

FRANK T. CARTWRIGHT, China Secretary.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., March 10, 1943.

HON. MARTIN KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KENNEDY: The Palo Alto Society of Friends (Quakers), in monthly meeting held March 7, noted with approval the introduction in the House on February 19 by Congressman Martin Kennedy, of New York, of a bill to repeal the 50-year-old Chinese Exclusion Act.

This has been a most unfortunate law and now is the opportune time to repeal it. We urge your support of this measure.

Very sincerely yours,

VERN JAMES,
Clerk of the Palo Alto Monthly Meeting.

JAMES MULLENBACH INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE,
Chicago, Ill., March 16, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KENNEDY: I have been pleased to note the report that you have introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to repeal the discrimin-

ations now in force against orientals under the immigration laws and to place them on the same basis as other foreign groups.

Congratulations on the statesmanlike proposal. The passage of such a law will do more than all of the promises in the world to convince our allies in China and our potential allies in India that America will really advocate freedom and equality in the post-war world.

I hope your measure will be enacted by the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK W. McCULLOCH, *Director.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 17, 1943.

HON. MARTIN KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE KENNEDY: On February 17, 1943, you introduced H. R. 1882, which seeks to repeal the Chinese-exclusion law and to relax the racial barriers to naturalization relative to Chinese persons. This bill has been referred to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

It seems to me that your bill is a worth-while measure, which is deserving of popular support. I should like to write an article reviewing the history and administration of the Chinese-exclusion laws and urging a revised policy in the light of contemporary conditions. I wonder if you have assembled any material in this connection, which might be useful in the preparation of such an article. If your organization is sponsored by any organizations or individuals, these groups may have some available material, and I should appreciate your advice as to how I may communicate with them.

Your assistance will be deeply appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES GORDON.

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 9, 1943.

Representative MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE KENNEDY: Your bill to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act will make millions of Americans and Chinese, including myself, happy indeed. Next to the abolition of extraterritoriality recently, your accomplishment will be hailed as a concrete step to bring the United States and China ever closer.

Born in New Jersey, having lived 17 years in China, and now sojourning in our New York City and State, you may imagine how keenly I feel on this subject. I thank you from the bottom of my heart, as do my friends, for preparing sunlight and rain for the plant of friendship between China and America which must be fed now, before the war ends, to make easy the post-war cooperation. I trust that you have ample health to realize all your good works.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE KIN LEUNG.

NEW YORK, N. Y., May 4, 1943.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The Chinese Exclusion Act has caused untold suffering to the Chinese people for the past half century. We are all grateful to President Roosevelt for his declaration on China's independence day last October 10 for the abolishment of the unequal and unfair treaties with China. The Exclusion Act, however, is the most serious violation of the fundamental principles of equality and friendly cooperation among our nations. Today China is always most friendly with America and has been fighting as a most determined and loyal ally in the United Nations. We are glad to hear that both Houses of Congress have recently expressed sympathy in favor of the abolition of the Exclusion Act. We wish to state that immediate repeal of the act would be most fair and encouraging to the Chinese people as a whole. We look to your honor for active assistance in this important bill towards true and lasting friendship between China and the United States.

CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION,
LEW YIN CHO, *Chairman,*
CHU TING WING, *Secretary.*

STATEMENT OF THE MOST REVEREND BISHOP YU PIN

Bishop Yu. Honorable chairman and gentlemen: I count it an honor to speak before your esteemed committee.

Since my recent arrival in the United States, I have been amazed at the wave of good will and friendship for China that is rolling across your great Nation. Clear evidence of this blessed spirit I have experienced in my recent tour of your beautiful Atlantic seaboard.

Churchmen, statesmen, and educators in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to mention but a few cities, have come forward to do me honor.

Last week, here in your Capital City, I spoke before an executive session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I was deeply impressed by the good will and sympathetic understanding of that august committee toward my country and my people.

I am happy, therefore, to bear witness before this committee to the solid fact that every place I have visited, the large gatherings to whom I spoke, all have manifested a tremendous interest and friendship for China.

Gentlemen, the eyes of the people of China are upon you today.

As head of the board of trustees of the Chinese Catholic daily newspaper, the Yi Shih Pao, it is necessary for me to keep in close touch with public opinion throughout "Free China."

Chinese public opinion is united in its expression of sincere friendship toward the people of the United States. This traditional friendship has its basis and motive in that great, human document, the American Constitution. From this document, as from a source of light, the founder of the Chinese Republic, Sun Yat Sen, drew his inspiration. Chinese children in the wartime class-rooms of the nation can quote the grand, human principles enunciated by the American Constitution. They have been taught that it stands for liberty and equality of all peoples. They know that it champions the personal rights and personal dignity of the individual.

Following the model of the American Constitution, equality of race, religion, and class, and liberty for all is the law of the land in China today.

May I add that the newspapers in China today are headlining the subject of these four bills that are now under discussion? The more important dailies of China express the hope, I may say, the conviction, that the traditional friendship and fair play of the American people will reveal themselves in the final decisions of your esteemed committee.

As a Catholic bishop in wartime China, it is my duty to tour the various battlefields in China where our heroic soldiers are in throes of a terrible death struggle with a cruel enemy. I play the role of a chaplain, so to speak, to the Chinese Army. In a humble way, I try to strengthen the morale of our brave boys. I tell them about our great ally, America, across the sea.

I assure them that America, together with whom we are fighting a common enemy, will send us tanks and airplanes, thousands of them, to strengthen their battered arm against the invader.

It is this friendship with America, this faith in her promises that keeps our brave soldiers fighting and dying in our common cause.

It is this friendship and faith of the common Chinese soldier that has kept him fighting the Japanese Army now for 6 years, which, in turn, has kept the Japanese Juggernaut bogged down in China.

It is clear that should the Chinese Army be beaten into submission—God forbid—then the Japanese high command would have over a million well-trained soldiers free to throw into the Solomons against the American soldiers.

Now, may I be permitted to make this reflection: I make it in the sincere interests of our common Allied cause.

Should thousands of tanks and airplanes from America to China not be forthcoming immediately, the Chinese people and soldiers perhaps will understand that Allied strategy of global warfare dictates otherwise for the time.

But should your honorable committee look unfavorably upon these bills before you today, than I assure you that my country and my people will not be able to understand. It would be a great blow to our morale in China, irreparable harm to the Allied cause.

Today the whole world is in the darkness of doubt. True, there is no doubt about the victory on the battlefield. But will we win the peace?

The world of oppressed and invaded nations is scanning the horizon for light amid darkness, for hope amid despair.

They are wondering what the future holds, what the post-war world will be like. They search here for evidence of the map of the future; there for indications of the trends of the post-war social order.

Now amongst nations, America is the light and the hope of the world. What her Government says or does now is of tremendous importance. Your honorable committee plays a decisive part in evolving the policies of the American Government.

Gentlemen, be not unmindful of oppressed and invaded peoples. They plead with you to champion their cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Bishop.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to call Dr. William C. Johnstone, professor of political science and dean of the Junior College, George Washington University.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE, DEAN OF THE JUNIOR COLLEGE, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dean JOHNSTONE. Mr. Chairman, I have had some experience in the Far East and I am appearing in support of this measure this morning, first, because I feel that we ought to put our relations with China on a basis of equality.

We have given up extraterritoriality and special privileges in China and I feel it is extremely important at the present time to complete this present record by passing some such measure as Congressman Kennedy's, because the Chinese do have a feeling that our record is not quite complete.

However, I think it is not only the feeling of the Chinese, but there are several more important factors right now that make passage of some measure of this sort important.

The Japanese have been extremely active with their propaganda in China designed to belittle the United States, and they have pointed out that in the history of their relations with China, the Chinese have always had free entry into Japan.

At the present time Japanese propaganda is predicated on saying, "Well, the United States says they are friendly to China but there is this Chinese exclusion law which is still on the books and consequently you need not believe what the United States says; just forget that."

This propaganda is being spread not only in China but all over Asia, and it is having considerable effect.

Therefore it seems to me that so far as the passage of a bill like this is concerned at the present time, it is part of our war strategy to aid Chinese morale and obstruct Japanese propaganda.

Mr. MASON. What about the time of your Far East experience?

Dr. JOHNSTONE. I was in China in 1934 for 9 months, and again in 1939.

I might say, that in 1939, when the war was going on, this kind of Japanese propaganda was going on in China in the Japanese-occupied areas. I was through those areas and got examples of it, so I think it was done before we got into the war.

Mr. MASON. If it would not be improper, I wonder if I could ask what the gentleman was doing over there?

Dr. JOHNSTONE. I was on my own account, doing a special job in my own interests.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to call Rev. John Magee, who, at present, is minister of St. John's Episcopal Church, and who has spent 30 years in China.

Did you say 30 years in China?

Reverend MAGEE. Twenty-eight years.

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, we won't quarrel about 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name and title to the reporter?

STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN G. MAGEE, MINISTER OF ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Reverend MAGEE. John G. Magee. I am now minister in charge of St. John's Church here.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I think there are certain things well known to all this committee that one does not need to emphasize, and one is the tremendous importance that China is going to have in the future.

I think anyone of any intelligence who is familiar with the Orient knows that China is going to have tremendous importance for the future.

It is a great people. We are beginning to realize that in this country, with their long history of culture and achievement and by their numbers, they are going to have an effect upon the future in trade and everything else.

China has arrived upon the world scene in a fresh, new outburst of life.

I was in the city of Nanking during the siege by the Japanese with its terrible aftermath and returned home in the summer of 1940. Since the capture of the capital, Nanking, in December 1937, I have been in Japanese-occupied territory and not in Free China, but there is no doubt that the Chinese people have been united in this war as never before in their history, and their effect upon the future course of the world is bound to be great.

Just how long it will take for the country to become thoroughly modernized one does not know, but there is no question but that it will be modernized rapidly.

China will certainly have a great trade with us in the future. She will need the machinery for her factories and with the good will there is toward America, we will certainly be called upon to supply much of this.

I think it is of the utmost importance that these two great nations should be for all the future bound closely together.

China is really essentially, in the life of the people, a democratic nation. Since time out of mind, their villages have been governed through village elders. As most of the people live in villages this has been the contact of most of them have with government. This patriarchal system should form the background for democratic government.

The gratitude of the Chinese people for America, for our disinterestedness about most things, is very real.

But there can be no question about their feeling about the matter of immigration in the way they have been singled out for exclusion.

That did not have much effect 50 or 60 years ago but now, increasingly as the years go on, the result would be disastrous if this policy should be continued.

On the other hand, we can see the difficulties in this country if we should permit the free mass movement of Chinese labor into this country, and I think every enlightened Chinese would understand that just as well as we do ourselves.

The Chinese are a reasonable people, and there is no question in my mind but that the Chinese Government would realize our difficulties and would cooperate with us to protect from such a thing.

The Chinese people realize perfectly well that every country has a right to regulate its own immigration, who comes in and who does not come in. Whatever restriction would be necessary for the welfare of our country, for instance the matter of labor immigration would find a sympathetic ear on the part of the Chinese officials, for they would realize that nothing would so tend to create ill will against them in this country.

That is the principal thing I wanted to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the point that interested me most is this war effort, the unity.

The propaganda that has been pointed out by the bishop, it has been spread throughout China to divide China up against the Allied Nations and against the United States, and I think that is paramount to the whole question, aside from trade.

Reverend MAGEE. That is of course of great importance and I will give you one illustration of what Bishop Yu has said.

In the school books being used all over the Japanese-occupied territory you have antiwestern propaganda put in all the time—I remember

one lesson for primary students—which had a story something like this:

Two yellow cocks were fighting and along came a white swan and tried to separate them, and they both turned on the white swan. A teacher could use a story like this to show how the interests of the yellow race are the same and they should turn against the powerful white race.

These lessons are full of things like that, and it is unquestionably a danger to us.

Mr. MASON. Dr. Magee, you would summarize your testimony by saying that you are offering two reasons for the passage of the Kennedy bill, first, an act of good will to a friendly ally in an effort to offset a counter-Japanese propaganda; and second, for future material benefits to us through the trade possibilities that will result in China?

Reverend MAGEE. Yes. And I think I would add just one more point, the importance of these two great nations keeping together politically.

The Chinese have to make some tremendous changes to adapt themselves to modern life, and they will undoubtedly be very friendly to us and we should have a great influence with them. But a thing like this bill would decrease our influence with them as they are becoming increasingly politically minded.

Mr. MASON. Well, of course in the trade possibilities, we need their raw products and they need our machine tools, and so forth, in exchange.

Reverend MAGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Dr. Magee, how general is this knowledge in China, that the Chinese are excluded? How general is that among the rank and file of the people?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, of course, 40 years ago it was not generally known, but with the great increase in newspapers and with the people being affected more and more by newspapers, more and more people would realize that.

This would be just the kind of thing, if we should continue the exclusion, the Chinese newspapers would be full of.

Mr. MASON. Has that not been the basis of the Japanese propaganda against the United States, the fact that we have an exclusion act directed solely at the Chinese people?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, it is against the Japanese, too, now, you see.

Mr. MASON. No, no. That is a gentlemen's agreement. We have a law saying the Chinese must stay out, but we have no law saying the Japs—

Mr. ALLEN. I understand that means the Japanese are excluded, too, Mr. Mason.

Mr. MASON. Indirectly, of course, but not naming them by race.

Mr. ALLEN. If my friend from Illinois will permit me now—Now, Dr. Magee, will you give this committee some estimate of the extent of this knowledge of exclusion among the people, out in the interior?

Of course I assume that the people in the large cities on the coast, most of which now are in the hands of Japan, probably have some knowledge, especially the educated people, but I am talking now of

the rank and file of the people of the interior. To what extent do they have that knowledge?

Reverend MAGEE. I have not been in Free China since the fall of Nanking. Bishop Yu Pin could answer that better than I could. There is no question in my mind but that the people who create public opinion would know if we would refuse a thing like this.

The friends of China today are pretty worried because there is a Fascist element in China that might—if they got control—make a compromise with the Japanese.

I would like to do anything we can to strengthen the hands of the generalissimo and the democratic elements in China.

Mr. ALLEN. I appreciate that. As a matter of fact, there is a considerable Fascist element in China now; is there not?

Reverend MAGEE. That is true, and they have been growing in power since Free China was shut off pretty largely from the west with the cutting of the Burma Road.

Mr. ALLEN. One group, in fact, captured General Chiang Kai-shek at one time.

Reverend MAGEE. Oh, that is over. The Communists and the northwest army did that but that is past. The new danger now is that the Fascist element in China would gain more and more control and be willing to compromise with Japan.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Doctor, you have mentioned that if this legislation is not favorably acted upon, the papers in China will pick it up and play it up.

Now, I want to ask you if it is best to agitate this question, and it is a great question—we agree on that—is it best for the fine relations that are now existing between China and the United States? Do you think it is to the interest of both of those nations to agitate this question at this time?

Reverend MAGEE. Unquestionably, yes; for the same reason that we passed that resolution just recently. It was a stroke of the greatest political wisdom. There is no question about that, I think, in the mind of anybody who is familiar with China—

Mr. ALLEN. What resolution?

Reverend MAGEE. I mean our giving up extraterritoriality and the unequal treaties. The doing away with those unequal treaties took away a lot of the ammunition of the Japanese.

On this question of exclusion, if we would clear that up, it would again take away more of the ammunition of the Japanese.

Mr. ALLEN. Is it your opinion, Doctor, that the United States must at this time alter its policy which has existed for more than half a century, in order to hold the friendship of the Chinese?

Reverend MAGEE. It unquestionably would affect it if we refuse to alter it. How much of a strain it would stand, it is impossible to say, but of course, in my opinion, if China is to arise victorious from this war, a thing like this would be of far greater importance. It has been important these last 20 years, but it would be 20 times, a hundred times more important, after the war because of the nation coming more and more into a national consciousness as one of the great powers.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, of course, Doctor, I appreciate that but the thing that is concerning me very much and I think concerns the other members of the committee, is the present.

Reverend MAGEE. Is what?

Mr. ALLEN. Is the present.

Reverend MAGEE. The present; yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, do you think that we ought to do this now in order to hold the friendship of China, and is it your opinion that if we fail to do this, then we might lose the friendship of China?

Reverend MAGEE. I think it would seriously impair it, and it would put ammunition not only in the hands of the Japanese, but in the hands of a certain group in China who really are Fascist-minded. They are uninterested in western democracy; they are interested in having something of their own. There is an element in China—

Mr. ALLEN. Well, Doctor, I am interested in that statement. Please tell me just how this bill would change their opinion of that at all. In other words, if they are not interested in what we are doing here, then just how would this bill change their opinion?

Reverend MAGEE. I won't say they are not interested, of course; they are interested in winning the war, and—

Mr. MASON. Doctor, it would not change the opinion of the Facists in China but it would take away the ammunition of the Facists in China that they are using against the democratic ideas in China?

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Chairman, I did not interrupt!

Mr. MASON. I was just trying to help the gentleman out.

Mr. ALLEN. If the gentleman is an expert on Chinese affairs, we will put him on the stand. My friend from Illinois is not an expert on this.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Doctor, this bill which has been introduced by our colleague from New York seems to change the law as to the Chinese and only as to the Chinese, if I understand it.

Now, I want to ask you what effect you think the passage of this bill and the changing of our attitude toward the Chinese would have upon the oriental situation in general?

In other words, what would be the attitude of the 400 millions of Hindoos, the people of India, and also upon the millions of Koreans, and all the other orientals who are at present excluded under existing laws?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, of course I cannot speak for India. I have never lived in India, but I think it would give hope to these people for the future, and that would have an effect on what is going on now.

I should just think—I do not know because I am not familiar with these countries; I have never been in Korea and I have only been in Ceylon—it would just be my opinion that I think it would give the hope that we were going to be fair and create a new world that people all over the world are dreaming about, a world of good will and of not these distinctions—

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, I understand.

Reverend MAGEE. Of race superiority, and so forth.

Mr. ALLEN. Do I understand the trend of your mind, Doctor, to be that you think that we ought to extend the same courtesy and privilege to all orientals as is being sought in this bill for the Chinese?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I think that if we are going to live up to our own principles as a Nation, it would eventually be bound to be.

As to the political wisdom of such a move I do not know.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, Doctor, it is your feeling that we ought to remove all presently existing exclusion laws against all orientals?

Reverend MAGEE. I personally, as a Christian, would be very happy if that were done.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through?

Mr. ALLEN. No; I am not through. I do hope my good friend from Illinois will not interrupt me.

Mr. MASON. I would just like to interrupt by stating that the Doctor has indicated that he is not an expert on anything outside of China, and the questions directed to him would just have to be an opinion of his, which is not based upon knowledge.

Reverend MAGEE. I said that I, personally, as a Christian, would be happy, but that is another thing.

Mr. ALLEN. You are testifying as a witness who would gladly vote, shall I put it, to change our law as to orientals and permit all of them to come into the United States under the quota system?

Reverend MAGEE. Personally I would favor that.

Mr. ALLEN. That is what I am asking.

Reverend MAGEE. I have no personal knowledge of what those people are thinking about, but have given my own beliefs.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, let me ask you this question:

You are evidently a man who has had great experience and are no doubt of considerable ability, and I want to say that I honor you for the sacrificial life which you have lived over there and for the great work which you have no doubt done.

We have in this country a serious minority problem, occasioned by people having been brought here against their will, decades ago, and you are familiar with that.

We in the South have had a lot of trouble with that problem, and I regret to say that I am afraid we have certain interests in this country that are accentuating that problem now.

I think that even the Japanese are trying to incite these poor people who are with us today to do things that they probably do not want to do, most of them.

Are you not afraid that if we let down the bars and let orientals generally come into this country, that we will have not only one minority problem, but perhaps several minority problems, not in your day or mine, perhaps not in the day of our children, but 60, 70, or 100 years from now?

Have you given that any thought, Doctor? I would like to know your opinion on that matter.

Reverend MAGEE. Well, having lived in China with the people as intimately as I have, and believing in the high quality of the orientals that I know, I do not think it would create any great problem so far as the Chinese are concerned.

I think it would be a good thing for the country, because I have such belief in the people and their great cultural background. I think it would be an education for us to have some Chinese of the best cultural background in our midst, for the United States will occupy a new position in the future of the world. The Chinese in this country are mostly the descendants of coolies.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, now, pursuing that just one step further, suppose that we have great large groups of Hindoos, or Koreans, or

Chinese and other orientals coming to this country and multiplying, and I think the learned doctor knows that they are very prolific over a period of 60, 70, or 100 years, is there not the likelihood of a serious minority problem developing here?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I said at the beginning that the Chinese officials—I come back to the Chinese—would be perfectly willing, if it became a difficult social problem for us, to meet us fairly in this matter.

In China and the Orient, face means a great deal. And as I have come home, I am convinced that it means a great deal most everywhere not only among orientals.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, how are we going to make that distinction as to China? And I speak as one who has the greatest respect for the Chinese; they are a great people. There is no question about that. And they are honorable allies. But how are we going to make that distinction with the Chinese only when we have as many Hindoos as we have Chinese and they are going to ask for that same thing?

And we have hundreds of millions of other Asiatics that are going to ask for that same thing.

Now, just how are we going to do that, for one crowd, and not do it for other orientals?

Of course your position is that we should do it for all, but suppose that the Congress should see fit to do it for the Chinese and not for the others; do you not think that we would get into deep water with all other orientals?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I really have no knowledge of this question in these other countries.

Mr. ALLEN. I see.

Reverend MAGEE. What I feel is that we should not push the whole question aside and treat the Chinese as an inferior people.

That is the thing I am against.

Mr. ALLEN. I thank you very much for your statement.

What you mean, then, Doctor, is that you think the whole problem of exclusion, not only the Chinese, but the whole problem of oriental exclusion, ought to be considered at one time; is that your thought?

Reverend MAGEE. Oh, no; I am not saying that in the least. I am concerned with China; that is what I know about.

Mr. ALLEN. I understand.

Reverend MAGEE. If we laid our difficulties before the Chinese, we would find a sympathetic hearing, but just to treat them as inferiors, that is the thing that is more dangerous to us than I think anything else could be.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have pursued this long enough.

Any questions?

Mr. BENNETT. Doctor, do you not think the best way for us to improve our relations with China is to give them food and other material aid to win this war as quickly as possible? I mean, would you not put that ahead of this immigration problem?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I do not believe I would. Knowing the Chinese, they are a proud and sensitive race, and anything that would seem to be an invidious distinction against them—treating them as an inferior race—even without saying it directly, would have more effect than anything I could think of.

Mr. BENNETT. And you think the Chinese are more interested right now in this immigration problem than any extent to which we are going to give them material aid?

Reverend MAGEE. I think the intelligentsia looking ahead to the future would probably be more interested in that because the matter of relief in China has been with them for a long time.

Mr. BENNETT. That is all.

Mr. ELMER. Could we have a gentlemen's agreement with them about this matter the same as we have with the Japanese? Would that save their face?

Reverend MAGEE. They would have to speak for themselves.

Mr. ELMER. Well, what is your opinion about it?

Reverend MAGEE. My opinion is that it would not. Anything that is written in the law that seems to say they are inferior, is the kind of thing they are increasingly sensitive about.

Mr. ELMER. Well, would that disarm the Japanese if they are put on the same basis as the Japanese?

Reverend MAGEE. Excuse me?

Mr. ELMER. If they are put on the same basis as the Japanese, would that disarm the Japanese in their arguments to the Chinese?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, if we put them on the quota basis just a matter of words, but really keeping them out completely, I do not think it would be satisfying to them.

Mr. ELMER. You think, then, that what they want to do is to come into this country?

Reverend MAGEE. Not in great numbers.

Mr. ELMER. They want that right, no matter how it is done, is that right?

Reverend MAGEE. Yes; but I think the Chinese Government would understand our problem.

Mr. ELMER. Now we exclude the Japanese through a gentlemen's agreement. Now, if we exclude the Chinese through a gentlemen's agreement, what effect do you think that would have?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I think if we have to go through a period of readjustment after the war, I think they would be very sympathetic; but that is just my opinion. I have not talked with the Chinese about that point at all.

I think they would be better able to speak for themselves.

Mr. McCOWEN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the doctor one or two questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McGOWAN. Do you think it is perhaps the crowd in the United States that is far more interested in the change in this law than it is the mass of Chinese over there?

Reverend MAGEE. I did not hear the beginning of what you said then. I am sorry.

Mr. McCOWEN. I say—I will reverse the order of the question. Do you think the mass of Chinese in China are so very much interested in this law, or is it more those who are already here?

Reverend MAGEE. Oh, there is no question—

Mr. McCOWEN. Is it those who are here who have the interest?

Reverend MAGEE. There is no question of the people in China being interested, that is, the intelligentsia and the reading class. But of course the people that do not read, they would not be so affected by it.

Mr. McCOWEN. Do you think, then, that all of the good things that the United States has done for China, and the fact that our men are dying for China now in battle, and all of the material help we are giving in this war, does not mean much in comparison with this one thing? A change in this law?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, unquestionably, in time the war will be forgotten, but this Exclusion Act would continue. That would become increasingly a sore spot.

I think undoubtedly it is true that they will be grateful for our sacrifices and our help. They would remember that, but in the new China that is to be this problem would be increasingly an important question.

Mr. McCOWEN. Do you think that China would want the United States to completely drop her as an ally?

Reverend MAGEE. Drop her as an ally?

Mr. McCOWEN. Yes.

Reverend MAGEE. No. I certainly do not. I think it would discourage all of the democratic elements in China and it might just give this Fascist group control, and they might compromise with the Japanese.

Mr. McCOWEN. Do you not think that this is really a two-sided question? They have their point of view and we have ours, and it really is not a question to bring to such a vital issue and fight about now, when the greatest thing is really to win this war first?

Reverend MAGEE. Now that China is shut off from the West for the time being except for the airplanes, it would be a grave and dangerous situation if the Fascists get more control. They might compromise with the Japanese, with the people getting discouraged and tired of fighting.

We want to encourage the democratic elements surrounding the generalissimo and anything like this, another friendly gesture in the abrogation of the Exclusion Act would certainly strengthen the hands of the democratic forces in China very much, along with the doing away with extraterritoriality and the unequal treaties.

Mr. McCOWEN. Can you tell us as to whether the Chinese immigration laws permit the naturalization of Americans over there?

Reverend MAGEE. Yes; they do.

Mr. McCOWEN. So that they can participate in governmental affairs?

Reverend MAGEE. They do.

Mr. McCOWEN. Is that general, or is that in only one or two provinces?

Reverend MAGEE. It would be for the whole country.

I happen to know an American lady, the widow of a missionary, who did become a Chinese citizen. There was not any trouble about it at all. She just decided to throw in her lot with the Chinese and she is over there now.

Mr. McCOWEN. And may I inquire as to whether there is any limit on the number of Americans who may become citizens of China?

Reverend MAGEE. I never have heard of any such—

Mr. McCOWEN. You mean you are just not informed on that?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, I—

Mr. MASON. Mr. Shaughnessy can answer on that.

Reverend MAGEE. I am sure there is no such law.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have pursued the scope of this bill. It is far reaching.

Any other questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. Doctor, in your opinion, in other words, the passage of this act would be a material contribution to the cause of the war program? In other words, to some extent, it is a war measure, in your mind, in stimulating the democratic forces?

Reverend MAGEE. Well, it is bound to be a war measure because war is going on, and it will strengthen the hands of the people we want to strengthen in China.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you feel that this propaganda program of Asia for the Asiatics is really making substantial headway in that country now?

Reverend MAGEE. I should say that the whole effect of the war would be to weaken that propaganda, that that propaganda was very strong; it was especially strong in the late twenties through Communist propaganda in China and then there followed the Japanese propaganda. The Exclusion Act was all fodder for them.

Mr. GOSSETT. I understand that the Japanese are playing that as assiduously and as diligently as they can at this time.

Reverend MAGEE. Yes; and I mentioned how they are getting that into schoolbooks in China. They are just playing that up as far as they can.

Mr. GOSSETT. This would be a substantial refutation of that propaganda?

Reverend MAGEE. Yes; it would.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you very much.

The next witness?

I would suggest in the interest of expediency that you instruct the witnesses to remain within the scope of their experience, in which they can claim to be somewhat of an authority, and not to be taken all over the course.

Mr. KENNEDY. I think, if I may make this observation——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes?

Mr. KENNEDY. I think it would be an unfortunate thing if we allowed the record to show the statements without an observation. It might appear that the witness was the one that explored new fields.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Who is next?

Mr. KENNEDY. At this time I would like to call Dr. Hummel, of the Asiatic Division of the Library of Congress.

Dr. Hummel is here as an individual, and not in his official capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name and official position?

STATEMENT OF DR. ARTHUR HUMMEL, CHIEF OF THE ASIATIC DIVISION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Dr. HUMMEL. Arthur Hummel, Chief of the Asiatic Division of the Library of Congress, Washington.

I may say that I lived in China and Japan for 15 years, and have been studying the literature and language of China for the past 30 years.

I am in favor of this bill because I know that the Chinese people are, like ourselves, a democratic people—a socially democratic people.

They do not have now, nor have they yet worked out, all the techniques of democracy which we have, but I have no doubt that they will do so very soon after the war is over.

But they have what is more important than that. They have a fundamentally democratic approach to life.

You must always remember that the Chinese abolished feudalism in the third century B. C. That is much earlier than feudalism was abolished in Europe, and much earlier than feudalism was abolished in Japan.

The Chinese have what we call a classless society.

The Chinese is perhaps the most individualistic man in the world.

I maintain that a people with that outlook on life can do us very little harm.

Their ideals are very much like our own, in fact, more like our own than the ideals of some European nations that we know.

There is nothing in their system of government that is antagonistic to ours, so far as I know.

Now, after this war, we shall have a great deal to do with the Chinese people, and we should not permit anything to stand between us and them. We should by no means enter the peace with this issue unsolved. It is important to make this concession, it seems to me, at this time, when it will count most, and when feelings are least aroused.

This is our problem; we can decide it any way we want to. The Chinese are not pressing us, and we should not get into the position where they would want to press us.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, may I interrupt you?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let him complete his statement?

Dr. HUMMEL. I should like to, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him complete his statement and then you can ask questions.

Dr. HUMMEL. I hold with the Chinese philosopher, Lin Yutang, that it is bad for nations to let "anything smolder in the dark."

We should control this matter and not shut our eyes to it.

To control issues means that we face them squarely.

Now we have the prospect, by making this small concession, of reaping what seems to me a great deal of good will.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Allen, do you want to ask a question? Let's snap it up a little bit.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, with reference to your statement about the individualistic tendencies of the Chinese, I am wondering what you think about the prospects or the possibility of the Chinese becoming communistic, bearing in mind that they have a good portion of Communists right now.

I would just like to have your opinion on that.

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes; my personal opinion about Chinese communism is that through it may make considerable headway for a time, I do not believe, from what I know of the individual Chinese, that he would make a good Communist.

I do not see how you could regiment the Chinese individual in the way that the Communists regiment their people.

I have always thought that the Chinese would make about the worst sort of Communists there are.

This is just my personal opinion.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, they are outstanding, rugged individualists?

Dr. HUMMEL. They certainly are.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Allen, would you yield to me?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. FISHER. I wonder if you are advised if the laws of the British Empire, in particular, permit orientals to become citizens and live in England? Do you know about that?

Dr. HUMMEL. No; I am sorry, I do not.

Mr. FISHER. Do you happen to know whether England and Germany permit the Japanese to take up citizenship and live there? Do you happen to know that?

Dr. HUMMEL. No; I do not know that.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Doctor, may I say with reference to your statement that the Chinese have not pushed this legislation, you might be interested to know that a gentleman representing himself as coming from the Chinese Embassy, has called on me and told me that he was calling on other members of the committee also.

Dr. HUMMEL. I see.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought you might not know that.

Now, just this further question, Doctor. Do you realize that this is a big problem? Suppose that we change our law with reference to the Chinese, then just how would you meet this problem when it arises with reference to the hundreds of millions of Hindoos and Koreans and other Asiatics?

It will arise, I state to you. We have had bills right here before this committee in previous Congresses to let in the Hindoos, I mean, to give citizenships to Hindoos and Koreans and others, and we have consistently denied them; and you realize that the instant we open the door here, those others would want us to open the doors to them.

Now, what is the state of your mind on that question?

Dr. HUMMEL. I should say that I am as much opposed, as you are, perhaps, to the wholesale entrance of large numbers of Asiatics into this country; but as I understand it, that is not the import of this bill at all.

Mr. ALLEN. I agree with you that this particular bill does not go that far, but this bill does open the door, and when you open the door and let in one fellow, another one is going to want to come in, too. The Hindoo is going to want to come in; the Korean, and all of the others.

Now, just what would you say about that?

Dr. HUMMEL. The assumption behind that question, it seems to me, is that all orientals are in some mysterious way alike.

We have the word "oriental," and imagine that when we use it we are pointing out something that is common to them all.

I believe, from experience, that the people of Asia differ among themselves more than we do in the West. They are at many different stages of development, and I do not believe that there will be any wholesale pressure from them.

I wish, from my point of view, that we could abolish the word "oriental"; forget about it and simply talk about Chinese, Indians, Japanese. The word "oriental," when it is taken to refer to all the people of Asia, does not say very much.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, may I put it this way: I do not want to delay the hearing, but you are insisting that we change our laws as to the Chinese.

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, do you think that we should put Hindoos and Indians and other so-called orientals on the same basis as we do the Chinese?

Dr. HUMMEL. I think that perhaps at the present stage of affairs we might limit it to the Chinese.

At least, we need not worry about questions that have not yet arisen. The Chinese proverb makes my point very well, "Do not take off your shoes until you get to the river."

The CHAIRMAN. You have something there.

Mr. ALLEN. We are asked to cross this bridge now.

Dr. HUMMEL. But all through life we have to cross just one bridge at a time; I do not think we have it in us to look to the far-distant future and visualize those things.

Mr. ALLEN. To permit me to ascertain the state of your mind, would you cross these other bridges when you come to them?

The CHAIRMAN. If he wants to get across, he would have to.

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes; I should cross these other bridges only as I came to them.

Mr. ALLEN. All right, Doctor.

Mr. MASON. Doctor, just one small question.

You said that you thought we should make this small contribution. You mean by using the word "small" that this bill proposes to cover about 107 Chinese immigrants each year?

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes.

Mr. MASON. And which is, of course, a very small total.

Dr. HUMMEL. If that is the number, I agree with you that it can be regarded as small.

Mr. GOSSETT. Just one question, Doctor.

You feel that passage of this bill, passage of the Kennedy or a similar bill, would be smart world politics at this particular time?

Dr. HUMMEL. I agree with you that it would be wise. I should not myself like to use the word "smart."

Mr. MASON. Only a politician uses such words as that.

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes; in substance I agree with you. And more than that, I say that this is a thing we must keep in our own hands and do it when we want to do it, and when we can, and not feel that we are being pushed around.

Mr. GOSSETT. You would make the concession when it counts most?

Dr. HUMMEL. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. I take it you think it is more important to do it now than it might be after the war?

Dr. HUMMEL. Exactly. I feel that this is a very opportune time to do it.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am selfish in this. I am only interested in whether it is going to help America to do it.

Dr. HUMMEL. You have put my view exactly. It is a matter of plain selfishness with me—knowing the conditions over there; knowing the conditions over here. I want to do this thing when we can do it ourselves, and not be pushed around.

Mr. ELMER. Doctor, in this book *The Good Earth*, it is portrayed the Chinese are devoted very strongly to the earth. Is that true?

Dr. HUMMEL. It is true. About 80 percent cultivate the soil and live on the land.

Mr. ELMER. Do they have a tendency to stay there and cultivate that soil and not take up other pursuits?

Dr. HUMMEL. The Chinese have been perhaps more tied to the soil than any other nation.

Mr. ELMER. Then do you think that all the talk about immigration very seriously affects that type of people that are so tied to the earth there?

Dr. HUMMEL. I believe, as you say, if there are 107 to come in, most of them would be merchants, scholars, teachers, or students. I should not worry a bit about labor.

Mr. ELMER. I think they have been admitting them.

The CHAIRMAN. They have only been admitted on a temporary basis—as students or ministers, and so forth.

Mr. ELMER. Well, now, outside of that class of people, do you think they are very much interested in the right to come over to this country or not?

Dr. HUMMEL. I do feel that the Chinese are interested to know whether we make any discrimination against them. I would go further than Dr. Magee in stating that this knowledge of so-called discrimination is very widespread among the Chinese, and for this reason: Even though a Chinese does not read a newspaper, he gets a great deal of information through conversation. There is a grapevine telegraph all over China, and the news spreads in the most remarkable way throughout the country.

That is true in India, I suppose, also. They have a remarkable way of getting information. And whenever they see a westerner, they discuss among themselves the country from which he comes, what ideas the people have, what discriminations they have, how they treat their own people.

So I feel that this idea of so-called discrimination is rather widespread among the Chinese people.

Mr. ELMER. Do you think the discrimination practically amounts to an insult, and if we would remove the insult, that would be about all you think should be done?

Dr. HUMMEL. It is a concession which would, for a long time to come, it seems to me, smooth over our relations with a people whom I regard as one of the most important people in the world.

For example, the Chinese live on the opposite side of the globe from us, on an area comparable in size to our own, with the same vegetation, the same economic and agrarian problems that we have. They have an immense amount to contribute to us especially in the field of agriculture, of crops and fruits and vegetables, and things of that sort; simply because they occupy an area of the globe comparable to ours, and because their problems are like our own.

They think much as we do; they view their problems on the same vast scale that we do. For that reason it is extremely important for us always to keep on good terms with the Chinese.

Mr. BENNETT. One question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. If what you say is true, namely, that the passage of this Kennedy bill, or some similar measure, would presently improve our relationship with China, what do you think would be the effects, suppose the bill comes before Congress and is defeated?

Dr. HUMMEL. My answer to that is that the Chinese are a very reasonable people. If the bill were defeated at this time they would simply wait until more of our people voted for it.

Mr. BENNETT. What I mean is, do you not think it would be better, in view of our relationships, to let the matter rest now? Might not the Chinese feel, if they are not quite satisfied with the help that we have been giving them, if this thing is defeated, would it not indicate that we are not too friendly to them? Is this question not full of dynamite?

Dr. HUMMEL. No; I think the question will be more full of dynamite after the war than it is if we bring it up now.

Mr. BENNETT. Why do you say that?

Dr. HUMMEL. Because after the war, when we relax, we will not be as interested in these things. We will be less inclined to face the matter, and it will probably cause more friction later than it will now.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have given us a pretty fair statement and we thank you very much.

Congressman Curley, you say you want just 2 minutes; I would like to have you come back when you have more time to express your views more fully.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. CURLEY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. CURLEY. I have a committee meeting I should have been to half an hour ago, but sitting back listening to the questions, it does not seem to me there has been much change in the American attitude and the American viewpoint.

I served as a member of this committee about 32 years ago, when we wanted to abandon an old American custom of leaving the doors open for the downtrodden of the world and permitting only the educated to come in, only those who could read and write.

I think the bill was favorably reported by the committee, went through the Senate by about 5 to 1, and we defeated it in the House by seven votes.

It was brought out in the course of testimony that the population at that time of the Nation was about 65,000,000, and it was estimated that we had an area, a territory with resources capable of sustaining 2,000,000,000.

We wanted to close the doors. We were afraid that the country would be overrun.

Well, we left the doors open, and there was not any overrunning. The total population today is only about double and we still have room for about 20 times the number that are here at the present hour.

With reference to America being attractive to a Chinaman or the family of a Chinaman, I am inclined to believe, as was stated at a previous meeting of this committee, that the tremendous strides made by the group at present in control in China, from the political and the economic and every other standpoint, the ending of guerrilla warfare, the ending of brigandage, the unifying of the people of China, the carrying on for nearly 6 years now of the most remarkable warfare

that has ever been conducted in the history of the world by the people of China, and the carrying on not only for the preservation of this—of their own country, but in reality of the carrying on for the preservation of the United States of America—we should have aided China long ago; but there are certain forces that do not want an offensive in China any more than they want an offensive in India. They are fearful of losing their territorial rights and their prestige, which has already been lost there, and their power and their wealth.

They would like to settle the Chinese question perhaps after the European question has been settled by suggesting they know the oriental mind and the oriental thought and the best way would be to allow Japan to hold the territory she has in China and give Hongkong and Shanghai back to another nation at the end of the war.

I would like to see China on the offensive, a nation that has an army of 5,000,000 trained soldiers, a nation that has an army of 15,000,000 who have been carrying on guerrilla warfare and are trained soldiers, a possible army to recruit from 50,000,000 men who fought on for 5½ years, fought on in most cases with old crates that were not fit to fly, with empty stomachs, and oftentimes with empty guns.

If the Atlantic Charter means anything, it is about time we started to prove it by furnishing supplies to China instead of furnishing the lives of our own boys in a country that is not a white man's country in which to fight.

We are interested in holding their good will and friendship. They are asking what. They are asking for the right to bring in a few of their people. They are asking for recognition.

I maintain, Mr. Chairman, that China has earned the right to recognition by the fight she has carried on for nearly 6 years, not for China alone, but for the United States of America and for the preservation of democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Whom are you calling next, Mr. Kennedy?

Mr. KENNEDY. Father O'Farrell, who spent years in China.

I believe you were ordained in China, were you not, Father O'Farrell Reverend O'Farrell. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your name and title to the reporter?

Reverend O'Farrell. John J. O'Farrell, associate editor of the Jesuit Missions, New York City.

Mr. Gossett. I did not get his name. Is it Farrell or O'Farrell?

Mr. KENNEDY. O'Farrell.

The CHAIRMAN. Rev. John J. O'Farrell.

You may proceed, Father.

STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN J. O'FARRELL, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF JESUIT MISSIONS, NEW YORK CITY

Reverend O'Farrell. Before reading this statement that I have composed, I would simply like to call attention to the fact that I have lived and traveled throughout China between 1933 and 1940, and I have been principally interested in dealing with the intelligentsia of China, what they think and what they feel, and their relations with America, and so forth, and there are just two points that I want to stress in this paper and that is that in this bill we are principally

interested in the recognition of the fundamental rights of the equality of all men.

That is the real issue at stake.

Politically, its significance, and so forth, is a debatable matter. There are lots of interesting books that have been discussed already, consequently it is extremely timely.

The Chinese Citizens Act of 1943, as introduced by the Honorable Martin Kennedy of New York, which would grant to the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights of citizenship, impresses me as having a very definite step toward a sane and workable internationalism based upon those necessary principles of international justice and charity, the only real guaranties of international peace.

To deny support of such a bill or to refuse to work for its acceptance logically would commit us at least implicitly to some acceptance of that false principle of "racism" as enunciated by Axis militarists, and against which we are now fighting so devastating and so total a war.

• This bill calls for acceptance of the principle of the fundamental equality of all men and the equality of rights, not between races because "race" as "homogeneity of anthropological origin" is a myth, but between stable groupings of human population.

This bill does not propose to abrogate the right of a nation, the right of the United States in this question, to take into consideration such possible factors as extreme differences in economic standards of living or extreme difficulties of national absorption, and thus to adopt limitations in the application of this principle of racial equality for the common good of its citizens or the reasonable safeguarding of its political sovereignty.

During the last 40 years, due to some extreme nationalism and state chauvinism on our part, originally based upon legitimate apprehension for the economic good of certain segments of the American population, the rightful limitation of the above principle was not only demanded but the very principle itself was practically denied.

And that principle of racial equality is what I am insisting on here.

Neither the author of this bill nor the Chinese whom it favors are asking for unlimited immigration but for recognition of that fundamental equality of nations that could be demonstrated by assigning, say, a quota of 100 or more a year, to the Chinese people.

Such a number would not endanger the common good of Americans, just as the present number of 75,000 Chinese in the United States does not interfere with the economic good of America.

Being somewhat familiar with the problems of Chinese groups in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Boston, and New York, I think the record speaks for itself.

The Chinese have consistently shown themselves to be an industrious and law-abiding group of people, and their offspring have contributed to the good of the community as far as racial barriers and prejudice allowed. Being democratic in spirit they have more in common with the American spirit than some other more-favored groups.

From years of experience of living and traveling in China, I have come to esteem the spirit of tolerance and the virtues of the Chinese and their admiration for "mei kuo"—the "beautiful country"—America, despite our haughty treatment of them. It is high time we

begin to take an interest in them and understand them by dissolving the prejudice born of the false assumption of basic racial inequality.

Even if there was not to be a stringent quota basis we should not have any grave fear about immigration pressure for the simple reason that most of the potential Chinese emigres have already moved from the coastal provinces into the vast undeveloped hinterland of China, where they have found some relief from population pressure and where they see unlimited opportunities for investing their talents and native resources. Of the total number of Chinese emigres in the last 75 years only 10 percent have come to America.

The passing of this bill, as a natural follow-up to the raising of our diplomatic legation to the rank of an embassy, together with the recent abolition of extraterritoriality, will be most timely.

The long-suffering Chinese people, as a whole, who have sustained with great spirit for the past 6 years a cruel war of aggression, thus giving us time to understand more clearly the real implications of the problems of the Pacific, are daily expecting from us substantial material aid. Thus far their leaders and intelligentsia, who feel most keenly this status of supposed racial inequality, have buoyed up the hopes of their people.

Right now this exhausted people and their intelligentsia are at the crossroads. They are being heavily pressured to make peace, and the theme of racial inequality is one of the most potent arguments.

Rejection of this bill would be an intellectual slap in the face of the Chinese and would tend to throw a shadow of hypocrisy on the spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome afforded Mme Chiang Kai-shek on her recent tour of our country.

Gentlemen, it is time to be realistic, and this bill presents us with a splendid opportunity to demonstrate our good will toward the Republic of China. I strongly urge the passing of this bill.

Mr. ALLEN. Just one question, with reference to the term "racial equality." Do you mean by that social equality also?

Reverend O'FARRELL. What do you mean by "social equality"?

Mr. ALLEN. I am asking you, if you please.

Reverend O'FARRELL. I do not understand the term in your question.

Mr. ALLEN. What do you mean by racial equality, then? You used the term, "racial equality," several times. Just what do you mean by that?

Reverend O'FARRELL. The equality of several different groups of population to have reasonable opportunities for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, within their social sphere.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you mean by that that all the various races should live together socially, eat, drink, and sleep together?

Reverend O'FARRELL. No; that is the opposite extreme. We are talking about fundamentals—based upon the fundamental equality of every single individual of the human race.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you do not mean by the term "race equality" to carry that to the extreme of social points?

Reverend O'FARRELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Any other questions?

(No response.)

Then we will stand adjourned. It is just about 18 minutes of 12. We will stand adjourned until half past 2.

Mr. KENNEDY. I have one witness from New York I would like to present.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you can take 5 minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY. The witness would like a little more time.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be back here at 2:30. Can he return then?

Mr. KENNEDY. Well, yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, then.

We will stand adjourned until 2:30.

(Whereupon the committee took a recess until 2:30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of recess, Hon. Samuel Dickstein, chairman, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Kennedy, will you call your next witness?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes. I would like to have Dr. Taraknath Das testify at this time, and, by the way, Dr. Taraknath Das is a former Hindu, a naturalized American.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he going to talk on this bill?

Mr. KENNEDY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In favor of it?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes. He has made a study of this type of legislation, and I think he has something worth while to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the stenographer, please.

Dr. DAS. I will give you my card.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, if you will.

STATEMENT OF DR. TARAKNATH DAS, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK CITY

Dr. DAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have this privilege: I am going to read my statement which will cover the whole issue involved and also answer some of the questions the honorable gentleman from Louisiana has raised.

And I am going to talk as an American citizen on this issue, and after my talk—or the paper is read—which will take about 20 minutes, I will be very glad to answer all the questions you want to ask me, so please give me the opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any way that you can cut it short.

Dr. DAS. I have already cut out 6 pages. That is what I was doing at noontime, knowing the committee does not want to hear too much of the testimony.

At the very outset I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity to appear before this committee to give my views on the pending bills concerning the modification of the existing laws governing immigration and naturalization, especially the bill introduced by Mr. Kennedy of New York.

I speak as an American citizen, born of Hindu parents, near Calcutta, India, naturalized in 1914, and who has had some practical

experience regarding the immigration and naturalization laws and has studied the problems involved from the standpoint of American interests; which is, in the long run, bound up with world interests and humanity at large.

As a student of international law and international affairs, I hold the view that every sovereign state has the full and unabridged authority in matters of enacting laws which concern its own internal affairs and all matters which concern itself and does not interfere with recognized and guaranteed rights of other people, acknowledged by international law and sanctified by binding treaty obligations.

In making laws, statesmen are influenced by the consideration of the true welfare of the peoples and service of humanity. This is the spirit of American way of life and democratic principles of Government.

However, it must be recognized that in the constant-changing conditions of the world and a country, practical measures may also change, and at times measures adopted at one period of a nation's life for a specific purpose may be different from what has been done in some other period. This may be termed as dynamics of legislation, which does not require hide-bound so-called consistence, but serving the interests of the nation. In the past this principle has been applied in legislative processes regarding immigration and naturalization of the United States.

To promote national welfare and to serve the cause of humanity at the same time, founders of the American republic encouraged immigration. These immigrants and their children not only contributed toward the material development of the land but also aided most effectively in defending democracy and the Union, during the great crisis of the Civil War. They aided the cause of political security and prevented dismemberment of the United States of America, in which political enemies of the United States were interested, but they brought about the condition which helped in saving the soul of the United States by abolition of slavery.

Here I may point out that the history of the cause of unity and human dignity which was fought out in our Civil War, made a fundamental change in our citizenship or naturalization laws. The slaves did not have human rights or rights of citizenship. But when the slaves were freed, then it became necessary to make certain changes in the naturalization law so that a Negro may not be denied the legal rights of citizenship. This ideal is evident in the statute which reads as follows:

All aliens of white persons and persons of African birth and nativity can become citizens of the United States by naturalization.

Yes, all white persons who are racially related to the founders of the Republic and have common ground in matters of religion, language, and others customs, and who have contributed so much to the building of America should be given the right to citizenship.

Yes; the Negro slaves for whose emancipation millions of American lives were sacrificed and who also contributed a great deal for the development of the United States should be given the elementary rights and their kins from Africa be allowed to come to the United States as free men and thus also be allowed to become citizens.

The enactment of this law did not mean that the American people after the Civil War days at once gave up their racial and color prejudice; but it meant that they wanted to give evidence to the effect that there should be "equality before law" for all Americans, at least in principle.

There is much to be done to put in effect the spirit behind the law which secured citizenship rights for the Negroes.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, oriental immigration was encouraged by the United States Government. This was done to aid the cause of railroad building with cheap labor as well as for international political reasons.

The United States was in search for her manifest destiny in the form of expansion in the Pacific economically and otherwise and goodwill of the peoples of the Orient, especially those of China and Japan, was regarded as national assets.

It is also recognized by American statesmen that oriental immigration would contribute to the cause of building up of America.

Let me mention here that no unbiased and factual study on the subject of contribution of orientals in building up the United States has been made; on the contrary, biased and prejudicial materials have been widely circulated by interested parties who wanted oriental exclusion laws for economic and political reasons and who cherished unchristian and undemocratic and Nazilike race prejudice against the peoples of the Orient.

I wish to mention only that orientals, who did not have full freedom in matters of occupation and were discriminated against in this land of liberty, did far more to develop the Pacific coast, at least agriculturally, than European immigrants, placed under similar handicaps.

As I stated at the very outset, under changing circumstances law makers adopt different policies in dealing with the same subject. For reasons of political expediency and for vote-catching, in violation of our treaty obligations, steps were taken to restrict Chinese immigration.

Those who are interested in this phase of our immigration policy should read Chinese Immigration by Prof. Mary Coolidge, of Stanford University.

The restriction of Chinese immigration was followed by Chinese exclusion. Poor, militarily weak China made faint protest against these discriminatory legislations. Of course, none should be surprised with our arrogant attitude on this issue because enforcement of Chinese exclusion was nothing more than the other side of the medal of enforcing extraterritorial jurisdiction in China.

We Americans claimed to be superior white people, enjoying special privileges in China and we also demanded that inferior Asiatic and heathen Chinese should not have the same rights as superior European, white-skinned and supposedly Christian peoples.

It is vital that every American statesman should ponder over the spiritual significance of this unholy attitude of superior race.

When the Chinese exclusion was being practiced, Japanese immigrants were being welcomed in the United States and Hawaii. This was done for economic and political reasons. Japanese support in the Far East was necessary for the Anglo-American powers in world politics. But after the Russo-Japanese War, when Japan began to assume the position of a possible menace, then agitation against

Japan began; and, step by step, not until after the Washington conference, a general Asiatic exclusion was passed.

I am interested to emphasize at this point that legislations affecting internal policies of a nation are often influenced by international situations.

The Oriental Exclusion Act of the United States was influenced by what happened at the Versailles Peace Conference, when the question on the articles of the covenants of the League of Nations was being discussed. The Japanese delegates under the leadership of Baron Marino proposed that there should be no discrimination by law against the subjects of any member of the League by another, owing to reasons of race or color. Of course, the Japanese were interested in nullifying the discriminatory legislations as then existed within the British Empire and the United States against the Japanese, because they were Asiatics.

To the amazement of the Anglo-American statesmen, President Woodrow Wilson, Premier Lloyd George, Premier Hughes, of Australia, and others who opposed the Japanese proposition, Dr. Wellington Koo of the Chinese delegation, a bitter enemy of Japanese imperialism in China, made the most eloquent plea supporting the Japanese stand and demanded that there should be no discrimination against the Asiatics by the whites.

Of course the League of Nations which was a political organization to preserve supremacy of the victors and which, in actuality, did not believe in equal human rights, ignored the Japanese and Chinese plea.

Here I may mention with all the emphasis I can command that as long as Anglo-American powers would continue to practice racial discrimination against the peoples of the Orient, vast majority of the orientals will not have any genuine confidence in the professions of promotion of world democracy and world brotherhood!

After the Washington conference when the Anglo-Japanese alliance was abrogated, when the Lansing-Ishi agreement was dropped and Japan's naval expansion was curbed and above all an Anglo-American solidarity was established, the Asiatic exclusion law was passed. Up to this time Hindus, who were regarded Caucasians and thus white, were allowed to become citizens of the United States. So long as they were allowed this privilege of citizenship, they could not be placed under the excluded class; therefore the United States Supreme Court very conveniently, through the late Justice Sutherland (who was a naturalized American, born in Canada), rendered a decision that Hindus could not become citizens because they were not "whites" although they may be Caucasians.

The real reason behind this decision was that politically enslaved Indians should not enjoy better rights in the United States than those that were granted to politically independent and friendly China and politically and militarily powerful Japan.

While we were excluding the orientals from the United States presumably on the grounds that they were an economic menace and culturally unassimilable, but really due to racial reasons—prejudice—immigration restriction was also imposed against immigrants from Europe.

It may be said that this legislation was the will of the people; that special form of quota system should be adopted and the Congress enacted such a law. But the thing was done which no man in the

Orient who has a grain of self-respect would accept as just, and that was that the peoples of the Orient were not given the equality before law; they were never given the same quota, although such application would not have allowed one hundred, or a few more, Chinese and similar number of Japanese, and 100 Indians, to enter the United States annually.

Then by this discriminatory law it was decreed that an ignorant street-sweeper from England, or some other European country may not only come to this land but become a citizen, but a Chinese of the type of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was given the title of the George Washington of China, or Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, or a man of the type of the late Rabindranath Tagore, or Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, cannot enjoy the same rights.

The renowned British philosopher-historian, Professor Toynbee, said that—

the so-called racial explanation of differences in human performance and achievement is either an ineptitude or a fraud.

Racial prejudice is the prime factor in discriminatory legislation against the orientals. The American people have declared that they do not believe in superior race theory of the Nazis; thus it is desirable that they should practice that "there shall be no discrimination against individuals because of race, creed, or country of national origin."

I have mentioned that the international situation often changes internal policies of a nation. The present World War has created a new situation—the United States of America is dependent upon cooperation of China, India, and predominantly, oriental Russia, in her war against Japan.

If this war is for world unity and world freedom, then the United States cannot practice double standards of international morality—one for the whites and the other for the Asiatics.

Logically, the United States should have given up her extraterritorial jurisdiction in China in 1919 when Germany was forced to give it up by the Treaty of Versailles, but we gave up this monstrous political imposition on China, only when we became convinced that Japan was making a propaganda capital out of it and when the Chinese Government made it clear that they would not honor extraterritorial jurisdiction any longer.

We have been making a great deal of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, as a great woman, and have conferred on her honorary citizenship of the city of New York, from where Mr. Kennedy hails; but she knows that according to the existing immigration and naturalization law, she or her husband cannot become citizens of this great republic without a special legislation. Just as after the Civil War the Negroes were given greater rights, similarly, if this war is being fought for world unity and world freedom and in this fight the peoples of the Orient—China and other countries—are used as allies then they should be given equality before the fundamental laws of the land.

Even as a matter of political expediency, it is necessary that quota system and equal privilege for citizenship be given to the Chinese and other orientals.

My conviction on the matter has been expressed in the following passage written some time ago:

In the final analysis, the hidden cause of anti-Asianism in the west is not based upon economic rivalry alone, but something more fundamental—a psychological and deep-rooted aversion to something foreign and unwanted. There should be a single standard for naturalization of aliens, based not upon the color of the skin, but on a definite and high standard of personal attainment and spirit to serve the cause of humanity. Unless this standard is adopted and discriminatory measures against the orientals discarded, there will be continued bitterness. It is not that all orientals wish to give up their nationality, but they do not like to be objects of legalized discrimination because of their race and color.

Finally, for the promotion of better understanding between the east and the west, the United States should amend its immigration and naturalization laws to convince the peoples of the east that there will be no racial imperialism against them after this war and after victory of the United Nations. Such a legislation will be a great antidote against anti-American propaganda in the Orient. The least that can be done now is to give the Chinese immigration quota and citizenship rights. This will not be opposed by American public opinion; and then the same measures may be extended to other peoples, according to the judgment of the United States Congress.

At times unjust criticism is levelled against the United States Congress and its various committees because progressive legislations are not speedily enacted. I am convinced the Congress reflects the American opinion, and if the changes in the immigration and naturalization laws are not brought about, then the fault will lie primarily with the American people and the public opinion.

I, for one, wish to express my sincere appreciation to various Congressmen, and especially to Mr. Kennedy, for their efforts in this matter.

And now I will answer all the questions you want to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, you have covered an awful lot of territory.

Dr. DAS. There are a lot of questions asked that are not in the deal.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, but we are concerned with the Chinese question, and, as a Government, I believe we have the right to say whom we want and whom we do not want.

Dr. DAS. That I said in the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. So all the other questions are not pertinent to the discussion here. Your discussion may be all right on a greater scale, which is not before us today.

Dr. DAS. Well, it will be part of the record, Mr. Chairman, if it is agreeable to you.

The CHAIRMAN. It is all right. I am merely calling your attention to this because you have brought in a lot of problems which we cannot even discuss today.

The problems are too great and too numerous. It would take months to discuss them.

Mr. Allen; did you want to ask a question of the gentleman?

Mr. ALLEN. I am very glad, Doctor, to have your statement. I am glad that you gave it in extenso, as you did, and particularly glad because it bears out the very contention that I have made from the beginning, and I assure you that I shall avail myself of the use of your statement.

You came to America when?

Dr. DAS. 1906.

Mr. ALLEN. 1906. You were a young man, of course, when you came here.

Dr. DAS. Yes; I got the inspiration to come to the United States after reading a book called *Log Cabin to White House*, when I was a student in high school in India.

Mr. ALLEN. What education did you receive here?

Dr. DAS. Here?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Dr. DAS. Well, I have my A. B. and my A. M. from the University of Washington; I received my teacher's certificate there; I was teacher of political science there; I carried on post-graduate work in the University of California, Columbia, and then studied in Berlin University, and traveled in China, Japan, and Europe. Then I came back and joined the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

Mr. ALLEN. You are teaching in Georgetown now?

Dr. DAS. No; I took my doctor's degree from there in 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. No question he is qualified.

Mr. ALLEN. Let him answer; that is what I want.

Dr. DAS. After that I was in Europe off and on, as an American citizen.

I used to be in Geneva, Rome, Paris, and various places; lectured there. Then I came back and became a special lecturer in Catholic University. I lectured on far eastern affairs.

Then for the last several years I have been teaching oriental history and politics in the College of the City of New York.

Mr. ALLEN. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more?

Dr. DAS. I have no more to say, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you had some more college degrees.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Doctor, you have received at the hands of this Nation wonderful opportunities.

Dr. DAS. Sure.

Mr. ALLEN. You have received a very high education.

You have become among your own people an educator. I want to ask you, with all frankness, if you think it is proper for you to come to this Congress and to this committee, having been so blessed by this country, and to criticize the Supreme Court of the United States, to denounce, as you have, the policy of this country with reference to its handling of this question, when you state by inference, at least, that the policy was dictated by political conveniences, and when you referred to the unfortunate American tragedy which occurred many years ago in our Nation in a manner calculated to reflect on the great Southland in which I was born and which I love so much.

Dr. DAS. Mr. Allen, may I answer after that?

The CHAIRMAN. He wants to answer you.

Mr. ALLEN. Sure; I want an answer.

Dr. DAS. I came to this country because of this country's fundamental ideals which are expounded by the founders of the Nation, they believe in equal opportunity for all human beings, and I am very happy that I have been able to uphold the ideals of America by utilizing the opportunity that is given to every man who wishes to utilize it, and at the same time the democratic form of Government which gives us the privilege to express the convictions of a citizen

without fear of anybody, so long as he knows that he is giving his conviction as the right of a citizen.

Whatever I have said regarding the American policies on certain things, I am sure, Congressman, you every day do that from the floor when you do not agree with certain policies; and I think it is to the glory of the United States that a common citizen can disagree with the highly placed men, even the President of the United States, in matters of importance.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. ALLEN. I am not through yet at all. I am not through yet.

Dr. DAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. But you have come to this country and received all of this and now you criticize the very country that has given you all of this.

Dr. DAS. I have not denounced the country.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, yes; you have.

Dr. DAS. I have denounced the thing. There is no country which has not committed a mistake, and there is no country which does not require rectification of certain wrongs that exist, and it is my duty as a citizen to point out those wrongs.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, we can all hear you without your yelling so loud.

Dr. DAS. Perhaps it is not necessary for me to talk so loud. Pardon me if I have spoken loudly; that is my habit in speaking to my class, probably.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not propose to let any man come here before my committee who is an oriental and born thousands of miles away, and criticize my country and my courts.

Dr. DAS. That is—

Mr. ALLEN. You are a witness. I am talking.

Mr. Chairman, I demand that this man keep his mouth shut until I get through. He is a witness.

The CHAIRMAN. When he gets through with his question, you may make the answer, without any further comments, and I think we can get along very nicely.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, you said a great deal about racial discrimination. Please let me know if you believe in what is commonly spoken of in this country as social equality among all the races?

Dr. DAS. I do.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you accept 100 percent the philosophy of social equality?

Dr. DAS. Social equality, according to the merits and qualifications of a man, just as the descendant of an American Red Indian was the vice president of this country. Similarly I believe a Jew from America or Europe, or a Negro from this country, has the right to even become the President of the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. You now refer to the political field.

Dr. DAS. The political right and social right go hand in hand. In fact, from political rights social privileges derive.

Mr. ALLEN. Will you go so far in your philosophy as to say to this great country that I speak for, and the other gentlemen of this committee represent—would you go so far as to say that we should dine with those of the Ethiopian race and accord to those people every social privilege? Is that your philosophy?

Dr. DAS. Yes; I believe like this: It will do a man honor to dine with a man like Booker T. Washington, or Dr. Carver, as President Theodore Roosevelt did, and made the greatest example of what America stood for, when he invited Booker T. Washington socially to the White House.

Mr. ALLEN. I thank you for giving your views. You have done your cause more harm than anybody else.

Dr. DAS. I have expressed my views.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for your views. You have the right of free speech. The chairman will protect you in that right.

Mr. McCOWEN. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I admire the courage of our colleague, Mr. Allen. That is all.

Mr. ELMER. I do not agree with the statement of Mr. Allen. I do not think you intended any reflection on this country.

Dr. DAS. I do not. This is my country. I have been married here and settled down and I will give my life for this country.

Mr. ELMER. I did not understand you to mean that you were throwing anything on any section of the country, or any political opinions, or anything of that kind.

Mr. Allen drew that inference, but I did not.

Of course, I do not agree with what you said, but that is another proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. MASON. I just want to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Doctor, you have, of course, acknowledged in your statement the wonderful opportunities and privileges that this country has given to you in providing the means by which you have arrived at your present status.

Do you not feel that in exchange for those opportunities, having given your mature life in the service of the institutions of this Government for the best interests of this Government, that you have about repaid, maybe, those privileges and blessings, that the Government has heaped upon you?

Dr. DAS. Mr. Congressman, when I was a little boy I was taught this, that if anybody ever teaches only a letter, because it is knowledge given to you, there is no wealth in the world by which you can repay.

The debt that I owe to the United States of America by giving me the opportunity to acquire knowledge and serve this country and humanity at large through this country cannot be repaid even by my giving my life for this country.

That is the spirit that I have.

Mr. MASON. Well, Doctor, I want to say this, that I, too, am an immigrant to this country. I, too, came to this country because of the opportunities it offered that I could not have gotten if I had remained in England.

And as a result of those opportunities, I have achieved a certain amount of privileges and blessings; and it is my purpose to do everything that I can to repay that to the Nation that gave me those opportunities, and I think that you have about the same ambition?

Dr. DAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. ALLEN. I want to say that I have never seen the gentleman from Illinois make the criticism that this oriental has made.

Mr. MASON. You mean, that you interpreted his words to mean, but I did not interpret his words to mean any criticism of our people or of this country and its Government, or of any section of the country. You read that meaning into his words.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to get the evidence in here. We are going to run until 4 o'clock and it is almost that now.

Will you call the next witness?

Call the next witness, will you, please?

Thank you very much.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to present at this time Father O'Hara, who is familiar with the Chinese question; as a matter of fact, he is not only a great student, but he speaks the language fluently, so if you would like to cross examine him in the native tongue, I am sure he would be glad to have you.

Mr. McCOWAN. Mr. Chairman, I have one comment before we go on, that I regard as the business of the legislatures to look out for American interests first.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that; we all agree on that principle.

Would you give your full name, Father?

STATEMENT OF REV. ALBERT O'HARA

Will you proceed, Father?

Reverend O'HARA. I would state, as Father O'Farrell stated this morning, that there seem to be two fundamental points here, racial equality, and further, there is the matter of expediency at the present time, as to whether we should put this bill before Congress and try to pass it at the present time.

The fundamental issue has been discussed very thoroughly. I think there is absolutely no scientific proof that can be given that there is any inequality between races.

In limiting this discussion we can limit that to political inequality here inasmuch as it seems some people here have some rather outmoded notions on racial equality. At least, the political equality is one that has to be recognized.

We today have Americans fighting in all parts of the world, and they are dedicated, if we can believe what our Government tells us, to crushing the principles of nazi-ism and racial superiority.

If we are going to be consistent, we have today a law which is in opposition to that, not only in opposition to that, but it rules out one of the very countries which is among the so-called Big Four among the Allies.

It discriminates against the country who has helped—I should say we are unable to estimate the help it has given us when it might have settled the problem long ago by a peace at that time.

It is occupying in China at present a great number of the Japanese soldiers who, if they were free, would be free to attack us, and they could use the resources of China in their war against us.

If we are going to have our men fight for the principles of equality, then we should be consistent at home and grant those same principles in our statute books.

I understand that the question of this immigration matter has been gone into in a previous meeting. I think that the history of the treat-

ment of the Chinese in the early days here in America is such a shameful one it should hardly be read in public.

There is, at the present time, I believe—and I think that those who know will perhaps bear me out—a rather serious situation between the United States and China.

We have made certain gestures of good-will toward China. I am afraid that those gestures have been about the extent of our help to China. The immediate future seems to be that perhaps we will not get much more aid there for some time to come; and if we at the same time refuse to make this other gesture of wiping out this discrimination against one of our allies, we perhaps are setting off the match that might separate those two nations that are now supposed to be fighting in a common cause.

I think that that point should be considered very seriously.

I think that the future of our own American boys, whether they are going to die in battle, or whether they are going to live, depends a great deal on whether we have China as our ally and therefore the war ending that much sooner; or whether we lose China as our ally and perhaps have to fight on indefinitely.

Therefore, I would, in closing, recommend very seriously that this bill be given every assistance to be carried through.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Father, you do not mean to tell the committee, do you, that you think China staying on as our ally depends on this bill?

Reverend O'HARA. I did not say it depended on it. I say there is a possibility that in the present situation if we did not accord them this little matter, that it might be just like a final straw.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, what we need to give China is more guns, more planes, more of everything like that.

Reverend O'HARA. Are we giving them that?

Mr. ALLEN. We are giving it to them as fast as we can.

Reverend O'HARA. Very, very little.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, that is all right; our boys are fighting and dying over there. I think that is more than a gesture. You spoke of this bill as a gesture.

Reverend O'HARA. Are our boys dying for China or are they dying for America?

Mr. ALLEN. Many are fighting and dying in and near China. It helps China directly. It will help America, too.

Reverend O'HARA. That is a very nice thing to say.

Mr. ALLEN. It is a very real thing to say, Father.

Reverend O'HARA. It is a very nice thing to say. I doubt if the reality is there. We are fighting for America.

Mr. BENNETT. By the same token, China is fighting for China. If we are fighting for America, China is fighting for China.

Reverend O'HARA. It is a matter of assistance. It is not a matter of fighting and dying for China. You may give a person assistance, fighting on your own behalf, but at the same time you are fighting for that person necessarily.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I remember awhile ago that the witness said something about outmoded ideas, and I would just like to comment that that of course is his opinion and is of course only a matter of opinion.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, may I ask the Reverend Father just what he meant by outmoded ideas?

Reverend O'HARA. The matter is that at the present time the science of sociology and anthropology has reached the stage where we say there is no evidence for any theory of superiority or inferiority among races.

Now, if you discriminate against races and you carry that discrimination over and above the political to the social, you are also acting in a way in which you have no business to act.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, Father, frankly speaking, you feel that there should be full and complete social equality among all the races?

Reverend O'HARA. I am merely stating the present opinion of the social scientists and anthropologists.

Mr. ALLEN. You are giving that as your opinion.

Reverend O'HARA. I am giving it as their opinion. My opinion is that that opinion is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Father, you are presenting your case in behalf of China, because of the circumstances that are confronting us today?

Reverend O'HARA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only with regard to the present struggle, but also with regard to the situation that will arise after the struggle is over?

Reverend O'HARA. There is one more matter I would like to cover.

I noticed this morning the question came up here, just what effect would this have on various interests in China.

I have been in China for 8 years and have been in touch with everybody from ricksha men up to Government people. Today education has spread in China and not only the educated but those people who just talk, who do not even read, they are interested in these problems.

I found a man like a ricksha man, asking me, "When are you going to send us help?"

I said, "When we can do so. We will try to do that."

He said, "These various wars, just what are the causes behind them? There are certain elements there of racial superiority."

He said, "How about your own treatment of the Indians and Negroes, doesn't that rest on the same solution?"

Now, the point is that these people are thinking of these matters. You do not have to go down to every individual farmer in China for this bill to have effect. The effect will be created if those in position of power and training realize that we have made this gesture; they spread that out among the people under them, and the people with whom we have to work naturally are those who are educated and of the better class.

I thought that might be interesting in regard to the questions that were brought up this morning.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, Father, may I pursue that a step further?

I presume in your work you mingle with men of all classes, in the fields, factories, and so on?

Reverend O'HARA. Right.

Mr. ALLEN. How general is the knowledge of our exclusion laws among the rank and file of the Chinese back in the backwoods and everywhere?

Reverend O'HARA. In the first place, I could not give you anything like a Gallup poll. And in the second place, as I mentioned, the very people I have spoken with, not necessarily speaking of this particular law, but speaking of kindred questions, have knowledge of those things.

Those appear in the text books that are taught to the middle classes, in the high schools and this affects the people who have education and who know the matter and for our part those are the people who are important.

Mr. MASON. I want to make something clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Father, when I say that our American boys are dying for China, or for Russia, or for England, and Russia says that Russians are dying for America, and the Chinese say that the Chinese are dying for America, one is just as logical as the other, and no statement of that kind is based on actual facts, because the American boy is dying for America first, last, and all the time. And so is the Russian. He is not concerned about us at all. And so is the Chinese.

Primarily, they are dying for their own opinions and their own nation's welfare. Is that not right?

Reverend O'HARA. Yes, sir. The assistance that they may give is not their primary intention.

Mr. McCOWEN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCOWEN. You did not mean to carry the impression a while ago that if we did not change this law that China will go out of the war?

Reverend O'HARA. I said there might be a danger of that, following the example of the last straw.

The Chinese are a very practical people, and you can talk and so forth, and they will appreciate what you say, but until you show them by deeds that you mean what you say, they remain skeptical.

Mr. McCOWEN. Well, is that not partially conjectural?

Reverend O'HARA. Which is conjectural?

Mr. McCOWEN. Your answer.

Reverend O'HARA. I do not think so.

Mr. McCOWEN. I do.

Reverend O'HARA. It is a matter—as I understand it, it is a matter of my judgment as to what the Chinese are and what they think, and as to a conjecture, the Honorable Congressman here has his own viewpoint on the matter.

Having spent 8 years with them, I give that as my opinion.

Mr. ALLEN. One question.

Your experience—was that gained after the outbreak of the war or before?

Reverend O'HARA. It was from 1933 to 1941.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you have been in China during the war.

Reverend O'HARA. I have been in China up until the summer of '41.

Mr. McCOWEN. Mr. Chairman, the last statement the witness made is exactly the statement I wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, then; you got it. He gave it to you.

Mr. McCOWEN. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kennedy?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, I have several witnesses who cannot remain; some of them have asked permission to have their statements included in the record and we may have some tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I have another list for tomorrow, coming from out of town. Now, if you will advise me some time today the number that you want to call, I will make some arrangements at some time tomorrow.

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes. There are some people who are nationally known in the field of literature and science and there are some of our Army and Navy officials I think would be willing to testify in closed session.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't enough today?

Mr. KENNEDY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is there anyone here who can make a brief statement? Just come along.

Are you supporting this bill or are you opposing it?

Mr. STEPHENS. Opposing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, when you get the testimony of the opposition, put it in the right place, please, separate the testimony.

(The following witnesses appeared in opposition to the bill:)

STATEMENT OF ROYAL C. STEPHENS, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. STEPHENS. My name is Royal C. Stephens, address 873 Preston Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

As an individual citizen, I shall in behalf of the welfare of the American citizen submit to your committee several suggestions that I feel sure will aid you in your consideration of House bills 1882, 2309, 2428, and 2429.

As all of these bills, in a nutshell, if allowed to become a law would grant to the Chinese the right to come to America and in due time become American citizens.

Let me call your attention to the fact that we Americans admire the Chinese for their great fight against Japan, also the honest character of the millions of Chinese that are not members of the Communist organization. But America has too many Communist and alien influences here already, without making it possible for other Communists and aliens to enter America and joining the Communists already here in their drive to change our form of government.

The Members of Congress can show their sincerity to help the Chinese by demanding that England and the United States take the necessary steps at once to drive the Japanese out of China and insist that England send her Army and Navy now to join with the United States to attack Japan.

For the information of your committee, about 3 months before the war broke out in Europe in 1939, I was told by a reliable person that the British Government officials persuaded Japan to go into Manchuria, China, to put a stop to the Chinese Communist bandits that had been robbing the English investors in Manchuria, China; that the British foreign policy in Manchuria would see that Japan would have plenty of trouble and expense in Manchuria.

In order to understand the double-cross that England was playing with Japan, for the British Government officials said it was to the interest of England to have Japan spread itself out over the Orient

and England would see to it that Japan would have plenty of expense and trouble and that meant Japan, being a poor country, would not be able to finance her spreading herself out over the Orient, and just remember what this all means to England, for the English people own over 51 percent of the Government bonds of Japan, and England is in a position to make the yen stand still, or go up, or go down.

Mr. Chairman, if you own 51 or more percent of the stock of any company, or 51 or more percent of the bonds of any government, would you or someone else outline the policy to be followed by either a company or a government?

Mr. Chairman, I urge your committee to vote these four bills down and suggest the following legislation for your consideration:

1. And in the event that such immigrant does become a public charge, or violates our laws, such immigrant shall be at once returned to the country from whence he came or to such country of which he is a citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not been given time now to suggest legislation to this committee. You can talk against the bill all you like. We are not concerned with statements that have no bearing on the question before us, however. You oppose it. You want restrictive legislation. You are against that bill because you want no more immigrants in here?

Mr. STEPHENS. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you object to the committee having information that enables you to pass on questions in the future?

The CHAIRMAN. If we should need your advice in the future we will ask for it then.

Mr. STEPHENS. Not on this question.

The CHAIRMAN. On every question from soup to nuts.

Mr. STEPHENS. All I am suggesting, you won't need any deportation treaties with any country.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not have enough ships and manpower to deport all those you want to deport. I would bet you would deport me, too, if you could.

Mr. STEPHENS. There would be no need of deportation treaties with other countries with such a law.

2. In the interest of national defense, set up the machinery for the registration and fingerprinting of both citizens and aliens.

3. Prohibit the States from granting commercial fishing licenses to aliens.

4. Legislation to prohibit a guardian of any American-born baby whose parents are of a race or nationality ineligible to naturalization as a citizen of the United States from leasing any land to adults of a race or nationality ineligible to naturalization as a citizen of the United States for any purpose whatsoever.

5. That the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution be amended by adding thereto the following proviso:

That children of alien immigrants residing within the United States or its territory, who are ineligible to become citizens by naturalization, shall not acquire American citizenship by reason of American birth nor shall the children of succeeding generations become American citizens.

6. That the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution be amended by adding thereto the following proviso:

That no children or descendant of alien immigrant residents shall have conferred upon them American citizenship by reason of birth in the United States or its territory.

Any questions?

The CHAIRMAN. No questions.

Mr. ELMER. What are you going to do with the Democrats?

Mr. STEPHENS. I wonder if there are any Democrats around Washington today.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness.

You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF ROSCOE C. WALKER, STATE COUNCIL SECRETARY, JUNIOR ORDER OF THE UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS OF NEW JERSEY, TRENTON, N. J.

Mr. WALKER. My name is Roscoe C. Walker, and I am a resident of the city of Trenton, State of New Jersey.

I am the State council secretary of the State Council of New Jersey, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, a patriotic, fraternal, benevolent society, of over 25,000 members; and secretary of the legislative committee of the above-mentioned body.

I am also the treasurer and legislative representative of the general executive board, composed of the State Council of New York, Inc.; Junior Order of United American Mechanics, State Council of Virginia, Inc., Junior Order of United American Mechanics; State Council of New Jersey Junior Order of United American Mechanics; State Council of Pennsylvania; Fraternal Patriotic Americans, Inc., and Wabash Council, No. 1, Fraternal Patriotic Americans of Maryland, Inc., Baltimore, Md.

In addition to representing the above-named organizations, I also represent the State Council of New Jersey, Daughters of America, the official auxiliary of the State Council of New Jersey, Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. WALKER. The organization that I represent has its very inception back 90 years ago, 1853, May 17, then in favor of selective and restricted immigration.

Mr. MASON. Restricted and selective?

Mr. WALKER. That is right. At that time when the Burnett Act was before Congress, we favored that act.

When the bill of 1924 was before Congress, we favored that act; and in 1929, it was my privilege to appear here in favor of the national-origins provision of that act.

I want to say in the beginning, Mr. Chairman, we are not opposed to the Chinese people. We are opposed to the further increase of immigration because we do not believe it advisable, certainly at this particular time.

We feel that there are enough people in this country right at the present moment to take care of, to provide jobs for, and that any change in the Immigration Act, however small it might be, would eventually open up the floodgates of increased immigration, not only

of people of the oriental races, but increased immigrations for other countries of the Old World.

Mr. MASON. How do you arrive at that conclusion, Mr. Walker.

Mr. WALKER. Before this war, Congressman, there were a great number of people out of employment; and we believe with an influx, even though our country may be prosperous for a time after the war, it will endanger particularly the jobs of those young men who are in the service of our country today.

Mr. MASON. Would you say 100 per year would be any danger to the jobs of the returning boys?

Mr. WALKER. If there are only a hundred a year, I would say no; but I am inclined to believe that the tendency is that the gates will be opened further after the 100 have come in here, if that is the number.

Mr. MASON. That is the point I want to make. Why do you believe that if the Exclusion Act were lifted and the Chinese were placed under a quota of 100 or 107, as the Justice Department tells us would be their quota, that following that act, that with the large number of unemployed that is bound to be here after the war when the boys get back, that this Congress would open wide the doors and let a flood of labor come in?

Mr. WALKER. Well, I believe, Congressman, that demands would be made upon Congress then to open wide the door.

Mr. MASON. Demands have been made upon the Congress in the last 20 years, to a great extent, and they have not paid much attention to those demands. Ever since the quota system was established, there has been no concession to demands for a flood of immigration by this Congress.

Mr. WALKER. I do not believe there should be.

Mr. MASON. I do not, either. And that is not under discussion, a flood of immigration, under this bill.

Mr. WALKER. It would seem to me—of course, the Chinese is only one part of what I understand to be the oriental race.

Mr. MASON. But this bill deals exclusively with the Chinese and proposes to put them on a quota of 107 per year, and we must limit our discussion to that, and when you state that your organization has stood for restricted and selective immigration from its foundation, those two words made my ears glad, restricted and selective, because that is exactly what this bill provides.

Mr. WALKER. I guess that—I quite agree in that sense, but when I say "restricted" I mean of course reduction in number and when I say "selective" I mean that we should not admit into this country, as our organization has said for a good many years, the criminal, and pauper hordes of some of the countries of the Old World.

Mr. MASON. We are not changing any of those laws.

Mr. WALKER. I realize that, but it would seem to me that it would be perfectly reasonable if this is enacted into law—107 are under the quota basis?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. WALKER. It would seem to me that it would be perfectly reasonable for the other oriental races to make the same demands or to ask for legislation of the same kind.

Mr. MASON. I imagine Japan could make demands for the next hundred years and it would not do her very much good after that one act that she committed.

Mr. WALKER. I agree with you, but I think the demands would be made.

Mr. MASON. Let them be made. No one cares about demands being made.

Go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed. Do you want to read your statement?

Mr. WALKER. I have a statement here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to put it in the record?

Mr. WALKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Without objection, the statement will be put in the record at the following point.

(The statement of Mr. Roscoe Walker is as follows:)

JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS,
STATE COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY,
Trenton, N. J., May 19, 1943.

By direction of these organizations, I appear here today in opposition to H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, which, if passed by Congress, would repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act enacted in 1882.

The Junior Order of United American Mechanics from its institution on May 17, 1853, and the other similar bodies that I represent, have always been opposed to indiscriminate immigration and in favor of selective and restricted immigration. Back in the time when the literacy test was before Congress, we favored and fought for its adoption; when the Immigration Act, adopted in 1924, was before Congress we acted in the same manner; in 1929 it was my pleasure to appear before the Senate Committee on Immigration in opposition to the Nye resolution which, had it been adopted, the putting into effect of the national-origins provision of the 1924 act would have been further delayed. As you well know, by the action of the Senate national origins was proclaimed by President Hoover and became part of the 1924 Immigration Act on July 1, 1929, and is still the law on the immigration question.

If these bills under question become law, thus repealing the Chinese exclusion laws, then it will become necessary to set up quotas under the 1924 act and provide for the admission of people of the Chinese race.

We are in opposition to this intention and believe that the reasons that brought about the exclusion of these Asiatics of the yellow race in 1882 still exist without change, except that there is more reason at the present time that the exclusion be continued.

These people cannot be assimilated with the people of the United States of America, intermarriage is not desirable, and their living habits and customs are such that were they to exist in great number and in many of our towns and cities, would tend to reduce our average living standard.

I also call to your attention our participation in the greatest of all wars when the flower of our manhood are taken from their jobs, and of necessity become part of the enormous machinery provided to be victorious in that great struggle, and of our solemn promise to them that when they come back home, we will provide jobs in order that they may take their place in our society and continue to be good American citizens. Under these circumstances, why then make it more difficult by providing for an influx of the Asiatic oriental races, who will take the jobs from our boys at greatly reduced wages?

The people of China are our allies in the great war, and we should help them in every manner in the war against Japan, however we can be of greater assistance after the war by not overloading the labor market of our won country, in order that all of our people may be working, be happy, and be prosperous, and therefore be in a position to extend our hands of friendship over the seas, giving China and the peoples of all the countries of the world the better advantage of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in a manner of their own choosing.

Immigration barriers should not be broken down at this time and thus provide for the greatest depression of all times after this war, which will prevent the people of this country from paying the necessary taxes and in addition provide those funds that will be necessary to help feed, clothe, and house the people of other nations in all parts of the world.

Gentlemen of the committee, I urge the defeat without question at this period in our country's history, of H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429 and trust they will not be reported favorably to the House of Representatives.

Respectfully submitted,

ROSCOE WALKER.

Mr. ALLEN. May I ask—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Walker, your position and the position of the organization which you represent is simply that you do not want to increase the immigration from any point?

Mr. WALKER. That is exactly it; yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Regardless of whether it is from Italy, Germany, France, or China or Japan, or India, or anywhere else?

Mr. WALKER. Well, I would say if there was any demand now or in the near future to raise the quotas of the countries which have immigration to this country, we would oppose it.

Mr. ALLEN. It is not a question of a number proposed to bring in from China under this bill, then; it is a question of holding it not to exceed what we now have from the various countries?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, as a matter of fact, the gentleman from Illinois mentions other demands. As a matter of fact, do you remember, Mr. Walker, that this very committee had presented to it some 2 or 3 years ago a bill to bring in at least 20,000 beyond the quota from a certain country at one fell swoop, and some gentlemen on the committee favored it, but we succeeded in defeating it in committee?

Do you remember that? You remember that, do you not?

Mr. WALKER. I think I was here at that time, yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes. Now, you also probably recall, Mr. Walker, that this committee has had demands from time to time from the Hindus or Indians, and from the Koreans, and from other orientals, and it is fair to assume that those countries and the nationals of those countries are watching the action of this committee with reference to this bill, and if this bill is acted on favorably we certainly will be deluged with other bills and the gentleman probably heard witnesses testify this morning that they would favor granting other countries those privileges.

Mr. WALKER. Well, I did not know, Congressman, that those demands had been made, but I said a moment ago that I thought they could be expected.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, certainly they have been made on this committee.

Now, the gentleman from Illinois, my good friend, talked about unemployment that will come after this war, and we know it will come; it has been the experience of every nation in war, and he tried to minimize the effect that 107, as he put it, Chinese under this bill would have on the unemployment impact.

Well, is it not true that if only 107 come, that would be 107 American jobs that ought to be waiting for returning American soldiers? Is that not true?

Mr. WALKER. I think that is true; yes.

Mr. ALLEN. It is not a question of whether they are Chinese or what they are. It is a question of holding those jobs for American boys, and we can concede now that those jobs will be scarce.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I have one more question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. My question has been brought to my mind by the questions of the gentleman from Louisiana.

Would Mr. Walker be willing to accept that if the quota for Germany, which is 27,000-odd, and the quota for Italy, which is 5,000-odd, who can come in under our present laws, were cut down to 2,000 between the two of them, 30,000 shut out, would he be willing to accept 107 Chinese in lieu of the 30,000 that were shut out from Germany and Italy?

Mr. WALKER. No. I wish the quotas were all cut down proportionately. That is the way I feel about it.

Mr. MASON. But you would be perfectly willing to testify in behalf of cutting down both the German and Italian quota to nothing, practically?

Mr. WALKER. All of the quotas, Mr. Congressman; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Walker, you have been—your organization, and I am not quarreling with you, has always had a tendency to oppose all immigration?

Mr. WALKER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether it is humane legislation dealing with rescuing war orphans, or whether it is to unite a family, the wife, children, daughters, or sons of legally admitted residents, your opposition in this committee has always been the same?

Mr. WALKER. Consistently opposed; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You would, at times, object to uniting mother and father who were in different parts of the world, because it would bring in more immigration.

Mr. WALKER. Yes, that is right. Some of those cases are pretty hard.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you and I understand each other. Now, here is the situation as presented so far from the evidence we have gathered, and other evidence that we cannot disclose to you at this time. We know that you are all patriotic Americans, your organization.

Now, a critical situation has arisen; certain steps taken by us at this time would be very important to the successful prosecution of this war.

One of our most loyal allies is in need of some help. As it happens, this help given to China is really given in our own interest. There are certain forces in China trying to turn the people against their government and against us by using our Exclusion Act as the basis for their propaganda. It would help our friends in China a lot if the basis for this propaganda were to be removed by the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law. They do not care how many Chinese can come here as long as they are treated like all other immigrants. They do not want any special consideration. They just want to be put on a quota basis like others. Their people would have to comply with all other requirements. They would have to comply with the public charge provision; they would have to comply with the literacy test; and I would say, for the sake of harmony in the war effort, would you not say we ought to take this step to bring about the harmony we need at this time?

Mr. WALKER. Once you open the gates, you will be forced into a position later that you will have to make other concessions. We

want to be just as patriotic as possible, but on the information we know, we must oppose the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; thank you very much.

These statements presented by Mr. Kennedy's witnesses will be added to the record.

(The statements of Rev. Thomas B. Cannon, and Charles H. Hall, State secretary, State council of Pennsylvania, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, are as follows:)

STATE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA,

JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS,

Philadelphia, Pa., April 28, 1943.

To the Members of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: By direction of our State board of officers I respectfully file the following objections on behalf of the members of our organization to bills H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, now in the hands of your committee.

We object to this legislation because it constitutes a repudiation of a long and well established policy of the United States. It was only when the present policy was definitely established, that race conflicts between whites and Chinese ceased. There is no logical reason for reviving this racial problem.

We are opposed to this legislation because it would pave the way for further legislation that would admit cheap Chinese coolie labor in direct competition with American labor. No claim of manpower shortage can justify bringing to America floods of Chinese subjects.

We are opposed to this legislation because the yellow race does not mingle or amalgamate with the white race. Their lower standards of living can only be a detriment to the United States and our American way of life.

We do not agree with the claim made by some, that the Chinese are more peaceable than the Japs. If it seems to have been so since 1882, it is because of the very limited number of Chinese that are here and their lack in numbers and strength. The yellow race is unassimilable with American stock. This has been proven by the Japanese problem on the west coast. If similar exclusion laws had applied to the Japanese, our Government would not be obliged to spend millions of dollars monthly, of the taxpayers money, to keep the Japs, moved from the west coast, where they could not be a menace to public safety. They have had 90 years to become peace-loving Americans but they are still Japs, and, according to their teachings, their children, born in America, are not Americans but citizens of Japan.

The claim that China is now our ally and because of that war relationship, we should admit Chinese to America is not a tenable argument. In 1934 Japan said that there was no differences between the United States and Japan that could not be settled by amicable solution. But time has changed their attitude toward the United States, resulting in a staggering cost of American lives and property. We cannot afford to take another chance with the yellow race.

If these vital and undisputed objections did not exist, the conditions that will confront our Nation at the close of the present war would be sufficient to warrant the continuance of our present Chinese exclusion laws. Millions of our American boys will be coming home looking for employment at living wages. We cannot have cheap Chinese labor holding their jobs when they come back, not can we afford to keep thousands of Chinese on our relief rolls. We must consider what will happen after the war is over. Our burden will be heavy. Our American citizens must be our first and only consideration.

The conditions that made necessary the passage of laws relating to the deportation and exclusion of the Chinese race in 1882, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1893, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1912, and 1913, still exist. In fact, under present conditions it is more vitally necessary, for the future prosperity of the United States and its citizens, that the present exclusion laws remain in force.

Most of us have good neighbors, but we find we are better neighbors by keeping a fence around our property. It is advisable therefore, if we are to remain good neighbors with China, to keep the present fence around America (the present exclusion laws) un-changed.

We urge upon you that it is your duty to vote against these two bills, H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429.

Yours very truly,

[SEAL]

CHAS. H. HALL, State Secretary.

STATEMENT OF REV. THOMAS B. CANNON, S. J., DIRECTOR, JESUIT PHILIPPINE BUREAU, NEW YORK

GENTLEMEN: The Honorable Martin J. Kennedy, author of the bill "The Chinese Citizen Act of 1943," has asked me to appear in my capacity as the director of a Jesuit mission bureau, and testify concerning the merits of this bill.

My testimony, gentlemen, may be summed up very briefly: I believe that the bill is eminently just. We are all very much concerned, these days, about justice. We are willing to wage war in the interest of justice. And we cannot afford to let a pressing problem of interracial justice pass unheeded. This bill, I believe, solves that problem.

A missionary will not be expected to speak of the strictly political aspects of a bill such as this; and yet, gentlemen, I would like to point out that a missionary enjoys unique advantages in the opportunities that are afforded him of coming to a knowledge of the people among whom he labors. Here present today are several missionaries from China. They have lived with and come to love the people of China. They know China's customs, history, the ways of thought of China's poor. It is fitting for them to speak on this occasion.

As you probably know, gentlemen, Jesuit missionaries have been working in the missions of China for over 300 years. To the labors and the writings of Jesuit missionaries is universally attributed the first accurate and detailed introduction of the Chinese to western civilization.

As a missionary in the Philippine Islands, I have had an opportunity to study the fusion of nearly a million Chinese with the total Philippine population of 16,000,000. In my opinion, the presence of the Chinese in the Philippines has been decidedly beneficial rather than detrimental. The Chinese have demonstrated that they are a quiet, law-abiding, and very industrious people. In the vast majority of cases, they have fused very easily and very harmoniously with the native population of the islands. They have never been considered as the advance guard of any imperialistic movement for territorial aggrandizement. They have simply exercised their right as free individuals to migrate where they think there is the best opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They have found this opportunity in the Philippines; and they cheerfully accept the type of government controlling their environment and stabilizing the society in which they have been received.

Missionaries in Jamaica and British Honduras are likewise spontaneously enthusiastic about the Chinese emigres in these lands.

According to my knowledge of the Chinese reaction to this bill, China hopes that the immigration policies of the United States will be so modified as to put Chinese immigrants on the same footing as those of other countries. Cuba has already done this. If we place Chinese immigration on a quota basis, about 100 Chinese would be admitted each year. This small number would in no way interfere with the economic life of America. China simply wants the abolition of all discriminatory laws based on race, color, creed, or national origin. China hopes that by abolishing such laws, all unnecessary irritation and want of harmony in her relations with the West will be dissipated. Gentlemen, we feel that China's stand is just.

Missionaries have always been the best interpreters of one civilization to another. This is by reason of their vocation and their life-long task of developing a sympathetic attitude and understanding among the people with whom they are working. The position of American missionaries in China today is a very favorable one. They, more than anyone else, can hope to give to the Chinese people a sane and just appreciation of American ideals. To retard, or almost destroy, this important work of cultural diffusion would, it seems to me, be diametrically opposed to our principal avowed purpose in the present world struggle—freedom, justice, and equality among nations.

I hope that this bill will be enacted into law.

Thank you.

THOMAS B. CANNON, S. J.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We will stand adjourned until 10 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until Thursday, May 20, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, gentlemen.
The next witness will be Mr. Mencken.

STATEMENT OF S. STANWOOD MENCKEN, 44 WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. MENCKEN. My name is S. Stanwood Mencken, and my address is 44 Wall Street, New York City. I am speaking for myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MENCKEN. Mr. Chairman, my attitude is that the history of liberty has been marked by the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. We made them living documents by the struggle of mankind against oppression during the intervening centuries.

Today we have a new document of liberty, the Atlantic Charter. I am here today because I believe the noble words of that and the noble words of the "four freedoms" must be enacted into law and recognized by the American people if they are to be anything but hollow words. They cannot apply to one part of the world and not to the other.

I feel that the failure to adopt this measure will be a matter of humiliation to America far greater than an injustice to the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. MENCKEN. You see, the gentlemen who have talked before me—

The CHAIRMAN. Which gentlemen are you talking about?

Mr. MENCKEN. Those who have spoken in opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wilmot or Mr. Trevor?

Mr. MENCKEN. Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Trevor, and I heard one witness yesterday.

APPEAL TO YOU MEMBERS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE

We apply to America no lack of power to carry out to report any bill which in your estimation will best remove this discrimination against the worthy Chinese. I submit that the Congress and the Immigration Department of the Government are able to effectively carry out any measure adopted.

In other words, we ask that limited number established by the Johnson Act for the Chinese be admitted.

I am strongly in favor of the Johnson Act. I worked and spoke for it in the years gone by, but, sir, it should be applied by countries and nationalities; it should not be applied to the race, the Chinese being limited strictly.

I am convinced, sir, that if this law is enacted, we will have the cooperation of our great Chinese allies and that they will cooperate with us to the end that the limitations of the act will be adhered to.

It was said by a great Englishman that the height of popularity is the right to go everywhere and to go nowhere.

Today China wants its people to rebuild a great country which will not have in it a British Hong Kong.

Extraterritoriality will end if the Atlantic Charter has any meaning whatever. So the question of Hong Kong does not bother the gentlemen.

The passage of this law will not aid smuggling. I am cognizant of the extent to which smuggling has happened in the past. Why not? We have treated the Chinese without consideration, these people who are equal to any in the world.

We can learn much from the Chinese, and they can make a tremendous contribution to our national culture.

The CHAIRMAN. You were referring to the testimony in opposition to the bills. Do you have anything specific in mind?

Mr. MENCKEN. Well, I know this, Mr. Trevor says—and I asked him—he said he had a mandate from a convention. I am a governor of the Council of Democracy; I am a director of the Friends of Democracy; I was founder of the National Security League which had a million members; we even marched a million on 1 day; and I want to say that progressive public-minded citizens are unanimously in favor of the adoption of this bill.

I have not met a one who is not, among all my contacts.

Now, there is a great fellow in New York named James V. Powell, who is a victim of the torture of Japan, and I was up to see him the other day where he was in a hospital, and he said, "If you pass this act there is nothing greater for the Chinese; the recognition that America welcomes them as equals, even in limited degree."

He says, "It will have an effect that is far-reaching." The Japanese placed on the walls, "We are your friends. Americans are only here to exploit you."

Now, gentlemen, we have to limit this if we are going to win the war.

Mr. Powell said there is nothing that would hurt the Japanese half as much as recognizing the Chinese now when we do not recognize the Japanese right of entry.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. ALLEN. Wait a minute.

With reference to Hong Kong, did I understand the witness to say that he would be in favor of Great Britain not getting that fort, that famous fort back?

Mr. MENCKEN. I certainly am. America for the Americans; China for the Chinese.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, when Winston Churchill said something yesterday about getting that back, you are not in favor of England's getting it back?

Mr. MENCKEN. I disagree with him 100 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we have gotten that straight.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Powell made this statement to you?

Mr. MENCKEN. Yes, Mr. Gossett; that there was nothing that would hurt the Japanese quite so much as for us to recognize the Chinese and differentiate between the Chinese and the Japanese.

Mr. GOSSETT. Is that true?

Mr. MENCKEN. Yes; he felt it would create a definite feeling that the Japanese had lost face, to a definite degree.

Mr. GOSSETT. Your idea is that that would be exceedingly wise counterpropaganda to the "Asia for the Asiatics" campaign now being carried on by the Japanese?

Mr. MENCKEN. Yes, sir; but I want to place this whole thing on the basis of human rights and human justice, and carrying into effect the broad principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well, regardless of the morality end of this, from a practical standpoint, do you think it is good world politics, so to speak?

Mr. MENCKEN. Yes, sir; and I venture to suggest that morality, that good morality, is always good world politics.

Mr. ALLEN. Of course you would be in favor of according the Hindus and the Koreans and all other orientals the same privileges you would give to the Chinese?

Mr. MENCKEN. Let me say this, I have spent months on the question. When you speak of the Hindus, you are trying the soul of a man who has worked on this.

The Hindus are 200,000,000. The Mohammedans are more millions; it is a divided territory, and in every solution that has been presented in discussion of the Indian question, it is all predicated on things like coinage, foreign things, foreign affairs, and so forth, being under a unified control.

Mr. ALLEN. My question is this: There are really 400,000,000 Indians or Hindus, or whatever you want to call them, and the Chinese and Koreans and you feel that these and all other orientals should have recognition and a quota and be permitted to come here and have citizenship?

Mr. MENCKEN. The Hindu matter, I think, is not germane to this subject, but I feel this, with limitation, America is so big, so broad, so powerful, that we cannot destroy our standards of democracy by admitting any high-grade person; and if he meets the tests set up by the immigration authorities, I think we can gain by having him here.

Mr. ALLEN. Do I understand, then, that you would be in favor of granting citizenship to the people of India and to the people of Korea, and other oriental countries?

Mr. MENCKEN. I think the limited number of the quota to a hundred Indians coming in here would be all right, if they wanted to come.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you are in favor of opening up immigration to all countries?

Mr. MENCKEN. Subject to the strict provisions of the quota law as laid down in the Johnson Act, and subject to the selective authority of our Immigration Bureau.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you believe that the quotas are now too low from the countries that do have rights?

Mr. MENCKEN. No. I think that often they are too high, sir, and I hope after the war we will strictly enforce the quota system so that we will be able to assimilate the newcomers to our country and develop a strong nation.

Mr. ALLEN. I commend you for that last statement, if you go further with it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. ELMER. Did you hear any great discussion about our interest in China until we got into the war?

Mr. MENCKEN. Do you mean spiritual or financial?

Mr. ELMER. Like we are discussing here.

Mr. MENCKEN. I know this, at the time Mr. Stimson and his associates protested so valiantly and widely against the occupation of Manchukuo, there was a tremendous interest in it; and there has always been an undertone of interest, due to the marvelous impression that the Chinese students in our colleges have made upon their fellow men.

When we had them at Cornell—and I know others feel the same way—we felt we had much to learn from those Chinese; it stimulated our intellectuality. And I want to say that we are hurting ourselves more by putting the bar sinister on the Chinese people than anything we are doing to the Chinese.

Mr. ELMER. Well, did we not go ahead and sell war materials to the Japanese that they used against the Chinese and nobody ever made any protest then?

Mr. MENCKEN. Well, we were following that Chamberlain policy of "hush-hush" and everyone who supported the President's policies was a warmonger, and we were doing things all through those years much to our disadvantage now.

Mr. MASON. When you say nobody raised their hands against the policy of selling war materials to Japan, there were several bills introduced in Congress.

Mr. MENCKEN. Well, I mean effective measures. I want to say that we cared more for the dollars.

Mr. ELMER. Is it not your opinion that the great interest we are manifesting in the Chinese now is because we have been associated with them in this war, and they are on the same side of the war?

Mr. MENCKEN. Could I push it a little further?

The answer to it is yes, and we have been associated with them to an extent that has given us a vision of their character.

Mr. ELMER. Since December 7, 1941.

Mr. MENCKEN. Well, in the last 5 or 6 years I think that we have had a revelation.

We do things in America because just the common-sense American people dictates—well, there is little force to it until it has the common-sense of the people and I think that such sense now disposes us to give the hand of friendship to China by recognizing their rights as a glorious people.

Mr. ELMER. Well, do you think that condition would exist now if we had not both been on the same side in this war?

Mr. MENCKEN. I hate to get into that shadow line of supposing, but it is fine that we are on the same side and I want to start from there to see America do itself proud by taking down the bar of restriction that now exists.

Mr. ELMER. Well, if we acted in self-interest before we got into the war, why should we not act in self-interest now?

Mr. MENCKEN. Because it is not self-interest to fail to make the Atlantic Charter a living creed.

Mr. MASON. Could I interject this—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. I believe every member of this committee and every Member of Congress should place the interests of America first, last, and all the time, and should act in the self-interest of America on this bill, and if it cannot be proven that the adoption of the bill is in the interest of America, then it should be defeated.

Mr. MENCKEN. May I say, sir, that I am putting the interests of America first, last, and all the time, and I say that self-interest embodies interests of the soul, of the mind, and of the spirit, as well as of the dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Congressman Bolton here?

Will you step up, please?

STATEMENT OF FRANCES P. BOLTON, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, I come before you with the hope that I can introduce into the material that you will have for consideration when the hearings are over, a few ideas that will be constructive to your consideration of the measure before us.

I have been a student of the Chinese people; I have Chinese friends, and have had them for a quarter of a century.

I have the greatest admiration and respect for them as individuals, and the more I have learned of the history of China, the more humble I have felt as a westerner.

China has been a nation for a good many centuries, and never during all that time has she denied the existence of Deity.

The fact that she does not define Deity as some others do does not matter at all.

"In my Father's house are many mansions".

I have heard the word "oriental" used here many times in these 2 days, and I have never heard the word "occidental". That refers to us just as much as the word "oriental" refers to those who are in that particular hemisphere of the world; and if we are so ignorant of the meaning of the word, I am sorry for all of us, because we are just as much a mixture in the Occident as they are in the Orient.

We certainly are not the same people as those in South America; nor are the Chinese the same people as the Hindus.

In presenting here my material, I am going to try to be as brief as possible because I appreciate the pressure under which you are working.

May I call to your attention the preamble of the Burlingame treaty of 1868 which provided:

The United States of America and the Empire of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the free migration and immigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents.

Implicit in these words was the conception that the Chinese could come to the United States freely and could become citizens.

The treaties of 1844 and 1855 between China and this country had said nothing about the rights of our resident Chinese, who were actually being naturalized in a few States. Not until the amendment of the naturalization law after the Civil War specifically to include "persons of African nativity" was the phrase "free white persons" definitely construed to exclude Chinese from naturalization. When the movement for the naturalization of Negroes got under way there was some activity looking to the extension of the naturalization laws to include Chinese.

In 1876 a joint special committee of Congress was appointed to study the Chinese question. The chairman of the committee, Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, was very favorable to the Chinese and against the conclusion of the committee, but because of his illness and later death, he could not be very active. Senator Edwin R. Meade, of New York, was present only a few days, and Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, resigned, so the friends of China did not continue on that particular committee.

The following year an even less careful California report was drawn without calling any Chinese witnesses. 20,000 copies of this hostile document were distributed.

On this background, and without any impartial study of the problem the Chinese Commissioners were sent to China to negotiate a modification of the Burlingame treaty. This was effected in the treaty concluded November 17, 1880, providing that our Government "may regulate, not prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers."

Disregarding the terms of this treaty there followed the Chinese exclusion laws and related anti-Chinese legislation.

The first act was that of May 6, 1882, as amended July 5, 1884. It suspended the coming of Chinese laborers for 10 years and made certain other provisions including the requirement for certificates of residence.

Although the new treaty was allegedly the justification for this act, it did, in fact, just what the treaty forbade, prohibited rather than regulated the coming of Chinese laborers.

September 13, 1888, a new act was passed, apparently to embarrass the administration, forbidding the return of resident laborers who had gone to China to return with certificates. After violating the statute by the earlier laws, the good faith of this country was jeopardized by this act.

May 5, 1892, there was a further suspension of 10 years, and on March 29, 1902, the suspension was made permanent. The bill was expanded to prohibit the entry of other than laborers and to tighten up the requirements for certificates of residence.

These anti-Chinese laws discriminate on the grounds of race; they are in violation of our war aims, and serve the ends of the Axis.

I do not need to give you all the material that I have, but want to include what Senator Henry Dawes, of Connecticut, said in 1882:

Make the conditions what you please for immigration and for attaining citizenship, but make them such that a man may overcome them. Do not base them on the accidents of humanity.

The same year Senator Buckner, of Missouri, said with reference to the proposed legislation:

It consigns to the grave all sublimated sentiment as to the equality of the races of men.

Now, on this last point, on the matter of the equality of races, here in the United States we have a great deal to learn about races. We have segregated ourselves and have made our thinking a very intolerant thing, not just toward the Negro, but also toward our Indian population. Were they not supposed to have had full citizenship granted them in 1924?

When I first came to Congress I was on the Indian Affairs Committee. I have yet to see a bill passed by the House that does not in some manner help the white man, whether it really helps the Indian or not. I have seen so much taken away from the Indian that I am ashamed. And I am certainly not proud of the action we have taken to nullify the Burlingame treaty of 1868.

From the Boxer Rebellion time, when that money was paid to us, what did China do? Did she send us her lowest group? No. She sent us her finest, in order that she might understand the principles of our democracy.

You have had testimony before this committee that the Chinese are the most individualistic race of the world, that they are best fitted to what we interpret as democracy.

If you will examine and study the present Chinese Constitution, you will see that they have followed, in almost every respect, the principles of our own Constitution.

They have not a House in session; they have not a Senate in session. Why? Because the Japanese came in at that point. They have not been able to put their processes of government to work, but they do intend to function even as we function.

They also have a sense of the realities of life I think we would do well to follow.

In one matter I have been very close to the Chinese. In the past 15 years there has been developed in a language intended only as an auxiliary language that is known as basic English. The Chinese have received it as a real contribution to international understanding.

When the Chinese had to move into Yunnan, they took basic English with them. Their effort to make it possible for all their people to understand this auxiliary English as a common language, is a demonstration of their recognition of the fact that we need to sit down together, to talk together, to learn to know each other as human beings.

That they were not reluctant to change their traditional modes of life is well illustrated by an experience of one of the teachers of basic English in China.

You probably know that the custom is in China that there is a matriarchial method of family control.

Miss Tyler who has worked in China, went into the homes of the Chinese by invitation. In one of these she saw the little grandson teaching his grandmother basic English. He had never been allowed to speak a loud word before. And she listened with intense delight and accepted his corrections not only graciously but humbly.

We can be sure that China is not afraid to move into a modern world. It seems to me it would be well if we could emulate some of the Chinese ways of being unafraid.

Perhaps we need to know that race is something we must all redefine, something we must try to understand a little more tolerantly than we do now.

I do hope, gentlemen, that, in your consideration of this very important measure, you will take seriously the matter of which I spoke in the beginning of my testimony: that we have not lived up to the responsibilities we undertook as a Nation when we signed this Burlingame treaty which really recognized those things which now are being brought under discussion.

China has been patient beyond belief. She had to sit by while we sold our oil and sold our junk to Japan, and it came over in bullets to her. Then when she thought we were going to be of help to her and would be sending things to her, the Philippines fell, and then, if I may express what I have not expressed before, something that has hurt me as it must have hurt China—when we went to China, we took from the air the Chinese Dragon and we put there the Stars and Stripes.

What did that mean? Over the troops of China should fly the Chinese Dragon.

Now, in closing may I just say this: We here should have the privilege and the responsibility of a wider knowledge of the actual facts than some of the people throughout the country can have. We do know what the difficulties are in getting real supplies into China that she needs. Yet, if we cannot give her the practical things, let us at least tell her of our sense of the magnificence of her patience, the magnificence of her battle, the magnificence of her people.

Let us refuse to continue a situation which has nothing to do with any of the other so-called oriental races, but is a justifiable recognition of our own obligation assumed in 1868 with the nation we call China.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Any questions?

All right. Thank you very much.

Mr. ELMER. We are greatly responsible, are we not, for the development of Japan in the commercial and military world, dating from the time Admiral Perry visited those islands?

Mrs. BOLTON. That was my understanding of history.

Mr. ELMER. Well, we have overdone that, have we not?

Mrs. BOLTON. I would say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, suppose we do the same thing over in China, then what is going to happen to us?

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Elmer, if we are going to base the action that we take at this critical period by this history of the world—

Mr. ELMER. Well, they are all critical, are they not?

Mrs. BOLTON. No; nothing has ever been as critical as this.

Mr. ELMER. That is just imagination.

Mrs. BOLTON. Well, we have never had airplanes before; it has never been 6 hours to England.

Mr. ELMER. No, but they could slip by us and land in New York before we even knew they were there.

Mrs. BOLTON. Well, I think they must have been very stupid.

Mr. ELMER. Did they not land at Bladensburg and come over to this Capitol, and we didn't even know it, and had to skip out in the night?

Mrs. BOLTON. I did not know there was such criticism of our strategy as far back as that.

Mr. BENNETT. Mrs. Bolton, as I take it from your testimony, you are basically opposed to the exclusion law?

Mrs. BOLTON. I certainly am.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, do you not think it is unwise to take up this subject now? Since it is only a psychological thing?

Mrs. BOLTON. Psychological thing?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, they cannot bring any over now.

Mrs. BOLTON. A psychological thing is a spiritual thing. It has sustained them for 6 years.

Mr. ELMER. What was our psychology, then, at the same time?

Mrs. BOLTON. Well, our psychology—I would say this, sir: We have of course many problems. I had the privilege of sitting on a Federal jury and the problems that came before us were the smuggling of individuals into this country; and there was not one Chinese, and there were a great many others, and those arguments on the smuggling business do not bother me at all. I do feel very strongly that at this moment it is more important than it will be for centuries, that we do something to uphold the hands of those who are protecting democracy in China.

Mr. KEARNY. Well, that is what we thought when we sent Admiral Perry over to Japan.

Mrs. BOLTON. Oh, no; we did not. We did not even know he was over there. He happens to be a member of my family.

Mr. CURTIS. Mrs. Bolton, I think the committee are greatly indebted to you for the fine statement and background of these treaties, and I expect to support the bill; but something has been said here about the best interests of the United States.

Do you agree that these things are in the best interests of the United States?

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes. May I say a little about that?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mrs. BOLTON. It is my pleasure to sit with a group that is meeting rather constantly, studying post-war conditions, and there has been brought up in those meetings a very interesting situation so far as China is concerned, that I think we would do well to consider, a very practical matter.

China needs, will need, practically everything that we can supply. She will be one of our best customers, if she is our friend.

For instance, in the tool industry, in Cleveland we make turret lathes. The companies have done a tremendous war job; they have an enormous number of them made. They last 50 years and they have practically wrecked their future business because they have made so much for the war. But China can absorb many of those second-hand. She is going to need them. She is going to want them.

Mr. CURTIS. I am glad to have that, but I had in mind primarily the military situation, and so far as our future in the Pacific and perhaps in the entire world—

Mrs. BOLTON. My own feeling is this, if we do not uphold the hands of China in some way, in every way that is humanly possible, there is grave danger that China will not be the power, the controlling power, in Asia, which she must be if democracy and decency are to obtain in Asia, as it obtains, we hope, here.

Mr. CURTIS. I rather agree. Perhaps China, from the standpoint of the future of our country, is our most indispensable ally.

Mrs. BOLTON. To my mind, so.

Mr. CURTIS. I would just like to point out this, that I am informed, and reliably so, that of our Chinese settlement in Washington, all through our years of unemployment and so forth, there were no Chinese on relief.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have a good many Chinese in my home. A good many of them go to my church. They are as constructive and as fine citizens as you could want.

Mr. REES. You have called attention to the manner in which we treated the Indians. I just want to clear the record. I realize we were pretty slow in recognizing them as citizens, but under the 1940 act the Indians were given rights as citizens.

Mrs. BOLTON. In words.

Mr. REES. No; the law.

Mrs. BOLTON. Well, the passing of a law does not necessarily make the situation of the group any better.

Mr. REES. Well, we did take care of them in that respect.

Mrs. BOLTON. So far as citizenship is concerned, but the benefit of it—

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WINSTEAD. She brought up the Negro question in the South, and I observe with much interest—I do not question your sincerity on that subject, but as you bring all this discussion into this committee meeting, that is one question right now that is needing as much consideration as any of these questions.

Now here is a point that I would like to ask you about, do you discuss the rights of various people, and so on?

Do you think it is right for your State to go down to my State and say that we can or we cannot have a poll tax?

Now, let me make this further observation: In my home State I think we are making some progress, and we recognize the serious problem that we have had with the Negro. The younger generations in both races, we are making some progress, at least in the last 15 or 20 years.

Now, when you bring up that question here, you set us back from 5 to 10 years. You create hatred among the two races.

We have a great number of Negroes there, and we like them, and they are good people, as a whole. But we have this situation, that when you bring it up here, they will block the sidewalks; then we have this surly minority on the white side that will go out and insult any Negro.

Then if you want peace and harmony, why try to push down one State's throat a law that will only create hatred and bloodshed?

We all admire the Chinese. We think they are great people. We are for them. I voted for a bill here the other day that appealed to us.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you did.

Mr. WINSTEAD. Now, the question is this: We want to solve these problems, but I am fearful of the fact that many of you failing to recognize the problems here in this country, might be overstepping your rights in trying to force down the Southerners' throats these antipoll tax measures which would not cause one person to vote who would not otherwise vote. It can perform no part other than to create hatred and prejudice.

We must face that issue which I regret has been brought into this problem here from the testimony of these witnesses—I have a right to my own opinion, do I not?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. WINSTEAD. I have been here 5 months and I have kept my mouth shut. I have observed there are many people here, just like you, and you have made a wonderful statement, but I believe there have been witnesses before this committee who are trying to tie around the Chinese necks their own selfish motives.

If I have said too much, I apologize.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not said too much and the Chair did not try to stop you.

Mr. WINSTEAD. I want to say further that I am for these Chinese. I believe the Chinese know that we respect them, and I do not like this statement of "gesture"; if we cannot do something to make it stick, I for one shall not play with it.

I think there has been too much playing with the issues here and there on all the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. It is before this committee now. The same measure is before this committee now.

Mrs. BOLTON. I would like to answer that.

Mr. GOSSETT. The point my colleague has made that he and I, and the rest of the boys down below the Mason-Dixon line do not like the idea of trying to tie this thing up with social equality and racial equality.

The CHAIRMAN. You want just to talk about China?

Mr. GOSSETT. We want him to talk about China. We do not want to talk about Negroes or Indians, or anything else.

Mrs. BOLTON. I regret that I brought that up. My only reason for using the other races here is just this, that from my study of international affairs, and I have been for some 30 years studying it and living it, is that I feel that all the nations of the world must reorganize their thinking on the whole matter of race, because in the world of tomorrow we must understand each other. If we cannot be gracious each to the other, if we cannot respect each the other's race, what is all this talk of democracy?

The CHAIRMAN. And that includes the United States.

Mrs. BOLTON. And when it comes to your colleague's remarks, I would regret only this—I feel very much encouraged that a young man comes here new, and then has the courage to speak out; and that is what we are all about in America. We should speak our minds and we should have our opinions. I came here in the interests of America; not in the interests of any party or the interests of any particular point of view. I understand and respect his opinion very thoroughly and appreciate the fine frankness of what he has said.

Mr. GOSSETT. This was not directed at you at all.

Mrs. BOLTON. No; I am not taking it that way. Please understand that.

Mr. ELMER. Mrs. Bolton, you would not want any race to come in here so that they could dominate our white race?

Mrs. BOLTON. Certainly not.

Mr. ELMER. That could happen if enough of them came here and took charge.

Mrs. BOLTON. If we let them take charge.

Mr. ELMER. Now, the same thing exists with these people that live in the Southern States toward the Negro.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ELMER. I do not live in the Southern States, and yet I see their problem.

Mrs. BOLTON. So do I.

Mr. ELMER. And yet a lot of us are trying to shove something down their throats.

Mrs. BOLTON. Perhaps I do not see it in just that light. But as I understand it, we are studying China.

Mr. CURTIS. You are not opposing this quota?

Mrs. BOLTON. No; I think that China herself would welcome the quota.

In the first place, you know, I cannot help being just a little amused at us as a nation. Are we so wonderful as a nation that everybody should want to crowd in here?

Of course, we are very fine—but China wants to build up China—she does not want to build America! But if we can recognize her fineness and her splendid qualities, if we have a fair and free exchange between us, we help China and we help to build ourselves.

The CHAIRMEN. I think you have made that very clear. Any other questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Mrs. Bolton, I have tried to be quiet but I want to say I think you have made a very splendid statement. I am not in agreement with your conclusions, however.

Mrs. BOLTON. I am sure you are not, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. You had something to say about what we owe to China; that we owed her every effort to help her in this world struggle, and I certainly agree that it is probably the greatest struggle the world has ever seen. I am in favor of giving to China all aid we possibly can.

But does the gentlewoman believe that we in America ought to change our own domestic policy which has been standing for over 60 years in order to placate China or any other nation?

Mrs. BOLTON. What about the Burlingame Treaty in 1868 that I read into the record, which we have not stood by? We have denied it by the Exclusion Act.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, we are called upon now to change our exclusion policy toward orientals. We might as well realize that we are including the whole. We have had bills before this committee to give citizenship to the Hindus, to the Koreans, and others, and we have, through the years I have been on this committee, consistently said to these people, "No; we cannot do it." We have consistently taken that position.

What I am trying to get is this. Do you really think in your heart that the situation is so desperate that our help to China is so necessary that we should go to the extent of changing our own internal policy which has existed these many years?

Mrs. BOLTON. May I say again, sir, that whatever policy we have been using since the Exclusion Act is a denial of the policy we agreed to with China in the first place.

In the second place, I am not testifying to any bill except the Chinese exclusion bill, and I am not interested in the question at all of what you call oriental bills, because I have not studied the situation. But I have studied the Chinese situation.

And to answer the end of your question, I do believe from the very depths of my heart that the situation is such that we should do this thing for China, and for our own self-respect, if we expect China to regard us as a nation of honor. I can see nothing but this.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, what you want to do is to wipe out, shall we say, the stigma that has existed—

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Against China for these many years in our country.

Mrs. BOLTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, if that is your desire then it would serve the same purpose if we were to repeal the laws that specifically name the Chinese and leave intact the laws which exclude all orientals.

That would place all of them on the same basis?

Mrs. BOLTON. No, sir; I am not considering that at all. My purpose is to see the Chinese Exclusion Act repealed.

Mr. ALLEN. You would not be satisfied with that?

Mrs. BOLTON. I am considering our obligation to China under the agreement of 1868, which we abrogated, in reality, when we put in the Exclusion Act.

Mr. ALLEN. Then what you are interested in is not putting all orientals on the same basis?

Mrs. BOLTON. I am interested in China. She is a preferred nation.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to say that I agree entirely with Mrs. Bolton on that.

Mr. ALLEN. I knew you did before you said it.

Mr. BENNETT. Irrespective of the merits of this question, I mean whether it is right to change the long-established policy, and admitting for the purpose of the question that it has been wrong—I do not agree that it has, but assume that it has been wrong—do you think that under pressure of a war when the main object of everybody is to win that war, that we should consider a question as important as this question right now?

Mrs. BOLTON. If the important object is to win the war, it is of the utmost importance that we consider and pass this at the moment.

I am giving you my opinion.

Mr. BENNETT. Japan was our ally in the last war, and so was Italy, 20 years ago.

Mrs. BOLTON. Some of us were not so keen about that, either.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; thank you very much.

Is Miss Pearl Buck here?

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, is it not time—

The CHAIRMAN. After this witness we will recess.

STATEMENT OF MISS PEARL BUCK

Miss BUCK. Mr. Chairman, I cannot go back quite as far as I wish I could, though I go back increasingly far each year. I can only say that four-fifths of my life—and I am now 50 years old—have been spent in China, and it is as an American who has had all those years in China that I must speak today, particularly on a matter of the importance of this repeal as a war measure.

I should just like to say this: Those many years in China have given me this advantage, I know the Chinese people, I know how they live.

I have not lived in cities among the rich people; I have not lived among the segregated missionary compounds. I have lived among the people because my father was that kind of a man, who believed in going among the people. In fact, he was the sort of man that when two or three Americans came, he said, "It is getting too thick for a Christian, and I had better move on," and so we did. And I had my life among Chinese families and Chinese children, went to Chinese schools, and my friends were Chinese; and I never saw the kind of thing that you have been hearing this morning, that the Chinese have a miserably low standard.

There are poor people, as there are poor people here.

I remember a friend said a few weeks ago—she is from a southern family and I am, too—she said, "The pity of it is that I have seen children in the South poorer than any children I have ever seen in Europe."

The standards of living are high. I mean the moral standards. Her people have high standards of ethics, of business ethics; we know that in our country.

Now, I should like to speak for a few minutes on the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act from the American point of view. I suppose that I am qualified to speak from direct experience as an American, on this subject. I am an American, of pre-Revolutionary War variety—I could be a D. A. R. if I wanted to.

The CHAIRMAN. Won't they let you?

Miss BUCK. I never asked them.

My family on both sides came from the South. I have spent most of my life in China, in constant and direct experience with the Chinese.

I could speak with some feeling, I can assure you, on the way the Chinese feel, as our allies in this war, when they are not allowed to enter our country on a quota, as is allowed to the peoples of Europe and Africa.

The Japanese have not failed to taunt them with the friendliness of our words and the unfriendliness of our deeds. The Chinese have heard this propaganda and while they have not heeded it much, it has nevertheless been true. As a war measure, it would simply be the wisest thing we could do to make it impossible for Japan to use this sort of propaganda any more, by making it untrue.

But I shall leave this aspect of the subject to others because I want to talk about that which I am best fitted to talk about from my own experience—what the effect of the Exclusion Act is from an American point of view.

I do this because I know that American boys are going to have to be in China, sooner or later, in large numbers.

China is nearer to Japan than any other country except Russia. Russia has offered us no bases for attack upon Japan and China has offered us everything—you will remember that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek cabled to President Roosevelt after Pearl Harbor, offering, as he said, "All we are and all we have." That offer, not yet accepted, will one day have to be accepted if Japan is to be attacked on the scale which we all expect. When that day comes, many Americans will be upon Chinese soil.

They will be welcome there, for in spite of very shabby treatment from us, the Chinese still feel friendly to us.

Our help to China has been very small indeed. I do not even count a few millions of dollars of relief money. Millions have been collected for other countries. Very little of our lend-lease promises to China have been fulfilled. The reason why the Chinese accept our little help without open complaint or even feeling is that they traditionally do not base friendship upon material gifts. They make every allowance for us, and continue to regard us as the people with whom they would rather be friends than anyone else.

What really hurts them is not this lack of material help which they can excuse because of the many demands on us, so much as our continued attitude toward them expressed in total exclusion acts which until this war broke out, made it actually harder for a Chinese to enter this country than a Japanese.

Now, unless these unjust total exclusion acts are repealed, it is going to be very hard for our men, when they go to China, to feel like friends and act like friends to Chinese. The wall of this injustice is going to rise higher and higher between our two peoples. Our men will be continually embarrassed by the Chinese questions. "Why," the Chinese will ask, "why are we altogether excluded from your country if you are our friends and our allies?"

"Oh," our men will have to say, "those are old laws, obsolete now, because conditions have altogether changed."

"Then," the Chinese questioners will ask, "if they are obsolete, if conditions have changed, why not repeal the laws?"

What will our men answer then? Do not imagine that Chinese don't know what the facts are. I tell you all Chinese know about the total exclusion of Chinese from our country. All Chinese know that they are allowed no quota. All Chinese know of the ugly and inexcusable humiliation which Chinese suffer even when they are coming in on a visitor's visa, or are citizens of this country coming home again.

The Chinese people know these things very well, and how do I know they know? Because I have been an American in China. Because I have myself suffered the sort of embarrassment I would have our men spared. Time and again I have cringed when the Chinese put questions to me and as an American I had no answer.

I have tried to explain that these exclusion acts were made at a time when Chinese themselves were being exploited by ruthless Americans who enticed them to this country in droves, combing the streets of over-crowded Chinese cities for cheap labor in American mines and on American railroads.

But I had to confess time and again, that these conditions existed no more. I had to confess that there was no reason at all for the total exclusion of Chinese from the United States. I had to confess that the Chinese we have here are among our best citizens—they do not go

on relief; their crime record is very low; they are honest and industrious and friendly.

"Then why are we excluded?" This was always the next question. I parried it as best I could. I tried to laugh and say, "Why do you care? It would only be a hundred-odd who could go in. You have a great and beautiful country of your own."

"No," they said, that was not the point. "Whether one went in or a hundred was not the point." The Chinese wholly understood the need for restricted immigration. They did not want or expect to enter the United States in large numbers. Some day, in fact, China, too, might have restricted immigration when industry there had developed far enough to be an attraction to other peoples.

No, the point was this, that China's friendly feelings were hurt by the total exclusion which implied that Chinese were an inferior people to all others—to Mexicans, and to South Americans, to the peoples of Germany and Italy, and Spain, and all Europe.

Literate Chinese, great scholars, brilliant young men and women, famous Chinese citizens, were all held inferior to the most illiterate peasant of Europe so long as the total exclusion of Chinese was continued.

How could I answer this? It was true. We have excluded not only Chinese coolies; we have excluded Chinese of the highest quality and attainment by our total exclusion laws. It is the injustice of the total exclusion that hurts the Chinese, the humiliation it puts upon them as a people, and now as our ally, and this hurt is what is difficult for the American in China to bear. He is ashamed of being unable, as an American, to meet this accusation of injustice.

It is more than injustice. It is a denial of our democratic ideals, and this makes the American on Chinese soil ashamed. And being ashamed, he is angry at having to bear upon himself and in himself the effects of the injustice and the lack of democracy of his nation. There is a wall between him and the kindly Chinese people. He knows that they are right and he is wrong, and that is hard to bear.

I do most earnestly hope, therefore, that as a war measure, if for nothing else, the exclusion acts against the Chinese may now be repealed and that China may be put on a quota basis, on an equality with other nations, in order that when our men go to China, as they will inevitably go, that they will not have to endure the stigma and the shame of carrying with them the burden of their country's injustice toward our ally China.

If this burden is not removed and wrong made right before they go, the enemy Japanese will renew their strong propaganda on this very point, and will taunt the Chinese more than ever with the fact that they are still totally excluded from our country and so are held in a lower position than any of our other allies.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Buck, may I interrupt just a minute?

We just heard three bells which means a roll call. Is it possible for you to come back at quarter of 2?

Miss BUCK. Yes; certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. There may be some questions that Members would want to ask. So we will adjourn until a quarter to 2.

(Whereupon the committee took a recess until 1:45 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you start where you left off, Miss Buck. I am sorry I had to interrupt you.

Miss BUCK. That was all right, but I think I really had finished my prepared material, and I am ready to answer any questions, Mr. Dickstein.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, personally I do not have any questions. I think you made a very clear statement and we appreciate it unless some of the members want to ask any questions—Mr. Gossett?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes; after Mr. Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. Miss Buck, I was greatly interested in your statement in chief this morning.

In considering a question like this, the members of this committee and the Congress have to try to consider the thing that will grow out from this ultimately. We have to look at it in the broadest aspect and see what the probabilities would be in the future, and that brings up the question of dealing with the Oriental question as a whole.

In other words, it is not quite so simple as dealing with the Chinese alone. We all feel very kindly toward the Chinese; I do myself and so far as bringing in a hundred Chinese, if that were the end of it and if it never got beyond that, no one would seriously object.

We feel that we should do everything we can to help the Chinese; they are a great people.

Now, there are two serious phases of this, to me. One is the question of breaking down our policy which we have had in this country for more than 60 years, and it is a very serious question.

And the other question is whether or not it is best to bring this up and air it at this time.

Frankly, I have felt that it was a bad thing to do at this time because it brings a reflection of opinion pro and con, and it gets into the newspapers, it gets back to Japan, it gets back to China, and I say to you very frankly I am afraid that no good will come of that.

I hope that you will believe that I am sincere in that.

Now, the other question is the question of policy of our country dealing with these Orientals.

Do you feel that we should take this step with reference to the Chinese and not with other Orientals?

Miss BUCK. Is that the question?

Mr. ALLEN. That is one question.

Miss BUCK. I think that if I understand what we are talking about today, it is the repeal of those laws which discriminate against the Chinese, not against other Oriental peoples. There are 14 laws which mention the Chinese by name and put the Chinese in a position inferior to other Oriental peoples, and it is those laws I think I was told we were discussing today; so I should think it would be better to put our Allies on equal basis with the Japanese and the Hindus and the other Oriental people.

That was the first question.

The second question is, is it a good time now?

Unfortunately our enemies have already aired this question, Mr. Allen. If we could have kept it quiet, if we could have sat on the lid, you know; in fact, many Americans have wanted to bring it up before now, and I personally have been in the position of sitting on that lid until I found how thoroughly the lid was off the shoe, until I found how it is being aired from the enemy point of view.

I have put the question to the Chinese, "Suppose the thing is turned down and it is aired unfavorably, would it not be very bad?"

And they have said, "Since the thing is discussed completely unfavorably over most of the world anyway, it is better to have it out, and for our own sakes, we would like to know where we are with the American people."

So it was when the Chinese said that they, themselves, would welcome it being brought up, though unfavorably acted upon, that I finally consented to come here today.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, I appreciate your sincerity on this question; I give you credit for that.

Now, I would like to know the frame of your mind with respect to the broader aspect, and we members here, Miss Buck, must face that.

In other words, we cannot take this step and expect it to stop there. Further demands will come. We are obliged to look at the broader aspect.

In other words, this committee, in the past, has been confronted with bills to grant citizenship to Hindus and Koreans, and perhaps others, and we have consistently said no.

Now, I think I am warranted in saying that other groups are watching this and if this passes, then before this very session is over, we are going to be confronted with the same demand for the 400,000,000 Hindus or Indians, or whatever you please to call them, and other groups.

Now, what would you do with these?

Miss BUCK. Well, my frame of mind on that is that if this Immigration Committee wishes to pass those bills and allow those people to come in, I would feel it was all right.

Mr. ALLEN. You would feel that they should be granted the same?

Miss BUCK. If you wanted to, but that is not what I am here for today.

It is up to you.

Mr. ALLEN. I know, my dear lady, but you are giving an expression of your opinion, are you not? I understood that you are giving an expression of your opinion, based upon your experience. Now I simply want your opinion also with reference to the other things.

Miss BUCK. Well, I have been in China a long time. I have never lived in India or Korea. I think I would leave it up to this committee, really.

Mr. ALLEN. You would?

Miss BUCK. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. That is what we would all like to do, leave it up to the committee.

Miss BUCK. That is what you think your Government is for, really.

Mr. ALLEN. Miss Buck. Let me ask you this further question to ascertain the frame of your mind in testifying on this great question—and it is a great question—let me ask you if it is not a fact that you believe in full social equality among all the races?

Miss BUCK. Are you asking me that?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, I am asking you that.

Miss BUCK. Well, I tell you, I do not think that is very important now, because this is wartime, and this is a war measure. I do not think social equality has one thing to do, at this moment, with war.

I think repeal of these acts has a lot to do with war measures.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask you again, Miss Buck, if you would not be so kind as to tell me what your opinion is along that line, and if it is not a fact that you do believe in social equality among all the races.

Miss BUCK. What do you mean by social equality, exactly?

Mr. ALLEN. Well, I think I have heard the gentlelady over the radio, and I think I have read some of the things that she has written with reference to the status of colored people in the United States, and especially in the South, in which I understood her philosophy to be that she believed that there ought to be full and complete social equality among Negroes and whites, and all other groups.

Miss BUCK. Well, I tell you, I thought the Negro immigration question was finished.

Did we not pass a law in 1870 allowing colored people to come in from Africa?

Mr. ALLEN. I am not asking you about the question of immigration; I am asking you about social equality among races.

Miss BUCK. I do not think that that has anything to do with the meeting today.

Mr. ALLEN. You do not want to answer that, Miss Buck?

Miss BUCK. Yes. Let us talk about it afterward, shall we?

Mr. ALLEN. I want it in the record.

Mr. GOSSETT. I do not like to take up all the time debating whether social equality is good, bad, or indifferent. I think it is immaterial before this committee. If Mr. Allen is going to ask every witness whether they believe in social equality, that is injecting a lot of foreign material.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not think my good friend from Texas could convince his friends down in Texas that the question of social equality is immaterial.

Mr. GOSSETT. But that does not have anything to do with the bill.

Mr. MASON. She offered to testify after this meeting is over.

Mr. GOSSETT. This good lady has written a lot of books. I do not want them all rehearsed here.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the gentleman from Texas want to shut me off?

Mr. GOSSETT. From that line of questioning; yes.

Mr. ALLEN. If my good friend from Texas wants to shut me off, fine and good, but I do not intend to be shut off.

Mr. GOSSETT. I did not expect that you would, but that does not keep me from expressing my opinion on that.

The CHAIRMAN. She said she did not want to testify to anything but this bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. I object to the testimony on the ground that it is irrelevant and immaterial, and is unnecessarily extending the hearing.

Mr. MASON. And I join with my colleague from Texas, and I do so on the ground that this bill has nothing to do with social equality, but it does propose to place the Chinese people on political equality with Germany and Italy, and all of the other countries upon which we have granted a quota basis.

Mr. ALLEN. This lady has written certain things and I want to find out the frame of her mind on this question, because that has a bearing on her testimony.

Miss BUCK. I will send you everything I have written, if you would like.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the point of order is well taken, but I am not trying to bar my colleague from going into this.

Mr. ALLEN, she has already stated she is not here to discuss anything other than the Chinese question, and the Chair will have to sustain the point of order. I would not interfere with your point of inquiry if she wanted to answer it voluntarily.

Mr. ALLEN. Let the record show that my friend from Texas, Mr. Gossett, objects to my pursuing this inquiry about social equality.

The CHAIRMAN. The record does show that because everything is in.

Mr. ALLEN. I want the record to show that the gentleman from Texas objected to my asking this witness about her position on social equality among the races.

The CHAIRMAN. You have asked her and she has said she does not believe it has anything to do with the bill before us, but that she will be glad to discuss it with you after the meeting.

Mr. ALLEN. The record is built, and let it stand.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. Gossett. If I understand the propaganda angle of this thing, the Japanese were making very much out of two things; first, the extraterritoriality feature, and second, the other, the Chinese exclusion feature of our foreign policy, and of our laws.

Now, the extraterritoriality feature has been repealed by an action of the Department of State. It did not require legislation.

This is just the second leg of that controversy, is it not?

Miss BUCK. Your extraterritoriality—your extraterritorial rights end today, do they not?

Mr. Gossett. I am not sure it is today.

Miss BUCK. I think it is today. It is a great day.

Mr. Gossett. Perhaps it is.

Miss BUCK. Yes.

Mr. Gossett. Are you pretty well acquainted with the Chinese and the Japanese? Is there any difference in the character and the ideals of the two races?

Miss BUCK. Oh, yes.

Mr. Gossett. Would you mind explaining the chief differences?

Miss BUCK. The Chinese people are democratic throughout their history, and I cannot agree with that gentleman today who said China is in a state of chaos. I have lived in the most interesting period of Chinese life, when she has been changing from the Old Empire into the modern form.

The people are democratic people from the Old Empire.

The center of rule was in the people of the villages. They are trained and ready because they have had for centuries the democratic idea.

The Emperor, you know, was the servant of the people; he was the intermediary between the people and Heaven, and when anything went bad, the Emperor was blamed, and he listened to the people, and until 30 years ago he had what is called his "ears" out among

the people, representatives, and if his people were saying things about the Emperor that were bad that report was carried back to the Emperor, and he took it very seriously.

But the conceptions of the Japanese have been entirely different. There the people have existed for the state and not the state for the people, and the Emperor has in no sense been a representative of the people, nor the intermediary between them and Heaven, so to speak, but has represented Heaven, or a totalitarian conception of that thing, and the people were entirely subservient to him.

I would say the two theories are as diametrically opposed as is our political theory at the present, and that of the Germans.

Mr. Gossett. Now, as to the personal characteristics of the two races, can you make any differentiation as to those?

Miss BUCK. Yes. I know Japan very well, having lived there, and of course the Japanese have a very beautiful country, but the Chinese people are extraordinarily like us.

Now, you many say, having lived all my life in China except the last fifth of it, how does it seem to be in America? I can tell you before I came to my own country, I wondered about that myself, but aside from loving my own country best of all, the fact is it is one of my great interests to discover how similar we are intrinsically to the Chinese in our democratic traditions, and in the way we behave and in our feelings toward family, and our realisms, and our practical qualities, and I attribute it to the fact that their country is so much like ours.

China is a wide country, much like our country; has the same geography; and, to a great extent, it has bred the same kind of minds. Their tolerance is like our tolerance. They are a generous people, and we are a generous people. They are friendly people, and we are friendly people. We believe in the common man and woman and they believe in the common man and woman.

I cannot quite agree, you know, about what was said this morning, about Chinatown. I know those people in Chinatown and they do not like to be cramped up like that at all. They would be glad to have a little more room, but we do not let them have it. I do not think we can blame them for that.

And they are a very clean people. Well, they are just as clean as we are, anyway.

Mr. Gossett. Well, can you say that of the Japanese people?

Miss BUCK. Oh, yes; the Japanese are clean, too. I do not think you can go on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they are pretty dirty now.

Miss BUCK. Oh, he does not mean physically clean?

I quite agree with that.

Mr. Gossett. It is the spiritual qualities I mean.

Miss BUCK. Well, I spoke of their realisms, and I find that their ethics are very high, the giving of a man's word—I think those of you who have dealt in business with the Chinese people know how outstanding that is, not repudiating debts, not liking to be on charity, honor to parents.

Mr. Gossett. Miss BUCK, I have heard stories that the Japanese have Chinese bankers because they could not trust their own nationals.

Miss BUCK. I have heard that is true.

Mr. GOSSETT. One other question: Can you make any comparison between the attitude that the Chinese have toward the Americans and the attitude that they have toward the British and toward the Russians, and toward other foreign groups that come into their country?

Miss BUCK. Well, I tell you, that is a pretty big question, you know.

Mr. GOSSETT. I know it is.

Miss BUCK. They like us.

The CHAIRMAN. And we are getting a pretty big answer.

Miss BUCK. They like us because we are most like them.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, I have been under the impression—which may be entirely erroneous—that in their hearts the Chinese were very distrustful of the British, and that they felt their country had been exploited by the British, and that they had somewhat the same attitude toward the Russians, but up until recently, at least, they had felt that we were more or less unselfish and idealistic in our attitude toward them.

Miss BUCK. I think they do feel that. About the British—I feel so much about the Chinese that they do not judge people by races or nations. They judge people very much by individuals, and I have heard very high praise of British individuals among the Chinese.

I know less about Russia than almost any country in the world, except Germany. I do not know Germany very well, so I could not answer that question. But there is no doubt about their own feeling of spiritual affinity with us.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, the question has been raised, Should we bring this thing up. Well, it is already up.

Miss BUCK. Yes, it is up everywhere.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you think that our refusal to make any change in the Chinese exclusion laws would jeopardize the good will that now exists between America and China?

Miss BUCK. Yes; I do, to this extent. I think it is a testing of their patience that is unwarranted. After all, we have tried their patience a great deal in many ways and they have trusted to our basic friendliness and friendship for them. They still do.

I do not think they would give up hope of us; they are not that kind of a people, but I think it would have very far-reaching effect.

I remember, I know from my own personal experience in the world, bearing out the fruit of it, the tremendous evil effect that our exclusion had on the Japanese many, many years ago.

I remember just that thing—not only from my own knowledge of what the Japanese said—I was not in Japan that time, but from Japanese friends who were there. It was the death blow of liberalism; we caused the death blow of liberalism at that time. And I think we said at that time—but had we been able to see what denial at that time meant, we probably would not have had this war.

That has been the single thing that has made Japan regard us as an enemy. She is today our enemy as we are hers.

Now, I should not like to see a similar action, and I think it would be in the nature of that, if we should not now, at a time when China is our ally, if we should not take a definite step.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is all.

Mr. FISHER. Miss Buck, while you are generalizing on the Chinese mind and the progress they are making, I was just wondering to what extent they have embraced Christianity over there?

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Chairman, has this discussion been germane?

The CHAIRMAN. Definitely not.

Mr. ELLIS. It is most interesting.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with that, but you proceed.

Mr. FISHER. We want to know a little about how they feel.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you answer that?

Miss BUCK. Was it about the Chinese—

Mr. FISHER. Not that it is particularly germane, but since you are discussing the problem there, I was wondering if you happen to know about what percent of the people have embraced Christianity over there?

Miss BUCK. I do not know how many. I think they appreciate very much the value of Christianity, and of course, Madam and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are Christians. That is very important.

Mr. FISHER. Well, did you see much evidence of communism?

Miss BUCK. No. I think they feel about communism kind of the way we do, you know. Yes, I think it is just about the same. Their Government does not like communism; our Government does not like communism.

Mr. FISHER. Well, they have had a number of Communist leaders there in the past, have they not? Military, and so forth?

Miss BUCK. Yes; and it has been very curiously mixed up there with an agrarian reform.

They have a problem in China that we do not have, of farmers not owning the land, and a good many feel that they ought to own the land, and when the Communist Party came in, they took that up as part of their work, and some of their farmers, just as plain people will, have followed where they think they can get the benefit. But I think the Communist menace over there is just about like the Communist menace over here, the same way.

Do we not put people in jail, or something?

Mr. ALLEN. Not yet.

Miss BUCK. Not yet.

Mr. BENNETT. Did I understand you correctly to say that you consider the repeal of this exclusion law a war measure?

Miss BUCK. I did.

Mr. BENNETT. And that is the only reason you are here for it?

Miss BUCK. And that is the only reason I am here today.

Mr. ALLEN. Miss Buck?

Miss BUCK. Yes?

Mr. ALLEN. I was interested in what you said about the effect in Japan of our exclusion of the Japanese. You seem to have given me the impression that you were of the opinion that our Japanese exclusion probably had more to do with the present war than any other factor. Is that what you intended to say?

Miss BUCK. I think the Japanese felt hurt, you know, and they felt that we did not understand them, and I think wars come out of feelings like that.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Chairman, if I may do so with the kind permission of the gentleman from Texas, I would like to have the privilege of filing in the record in connection with this witnesses' testimony, an excerpt from one of her writings, if I can find it. I do not know that I can find it.

Miss BUCK. What is it, so that I can tell you?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know that I can think of the name of it but I would like that permission.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, you may file it.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection, so long as he does not file the whole book.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Walsh here?

**STATEMENT OF RICHARD J. WALSH, PRESIDENT, JOHN DAY CO.,
EDITOR OF MAGAZINES ASIA AND THE AMERICAS**

The CHAIRMAN. Just give your name and address and proceed.

Mr. WALSH. Richard J. Walsh. I am editor of the magazine Asia and the Americas. I am president of the book-publishing house which rather specializes in books about China. In that connection I have had occasion to know about the Chinese and how they feel, but first I would like to present some Japanese radio broadcasts.

Mr. MASON. Have you the data on those broadcasts?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. It is very essential.

Mr. WALSH. One point I want to make is that some of those I am going to read were broadcast in short wave before any of these bills were introduced. However, I have the latest, which came in at 8 o'clock this morning, which shows that the spokesman at Tokyo referred to the hearing yesterday and in effect said that this was just a gesture and if we were going to have equality, we would have done it long ago.

Mr. ALLEN. If you have the direct quote, I would like to see that.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. Mr. Hory, his name seems to be and his comment is—

that such a movement has started since the Pacific war shows it is a mere gesture.

I think it is significant to show that the Japanese information spokesman thought it was worth-while mentioning it.

Mr. ALLEN. What is the source of those broadcasts?

Mr. WALSH. They are recorded by our Government listening posts. I would rather tell in executive session just how I got them.

Mr. MASON. But they are official?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. WALSH. I have one here that went on the air yesterday morning at 2 a. m., before the hearings. I am sorry to say that I do not have that here, but it was to the general effect that we were just kidding the Chinese, that it did not really mean anything; we were just kidding the Chinese.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the gentleman to find that and put it in the record.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I will put it in.

This is a broadcast made May 4, China and the South Seas. I will put it in the record.

Now, I would like, if I may, to turn to some of the earlier broadcasts.

March 17, 1943, a broadcast beamed to China from Tokyo in the Chinese language, called The Children's Hour, said—

while white people are free to live in China, the Chinese cannot enter the United States.

A few days earlier, a broadcast from Tokyo, beamed to India in the English language:

The Chungking Government cannot understand why the United States fears the immigration of a small number of Chinese into that country.

Here is one from—

The CHAIRMAN. Are they translated into English?

Mr. WALSH. They are translated.

Mr. ALLEN. Was that an official statement from the Chinese Government at Chungking?

Mr. WALSH. No; from Tokyo.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought you said that last was from Chungking.

Mr. WALSH. The Japanese say the Chungking Government cannot understand. They are telling the Indians that.

Now, here is one intended to make bad blood, in Spanish, to South America:

The British Government, resenting America's insistent and arrogant attitude, which is pressing for the return of Hong Kong to China, insists that the United States should give better treatment to the Chinese by reforming the American immigration laws.

Anyone who knows anything about propaganda knows this is merely an attempt to buzz the whole thing up.

Another Tokyo broadcast, beamed in English to Canada and our west coast:

The few Chinese who are temporarily permitted to enter the United States, such as international merchants, professional men, and tourists, are forced to undergo the most humiliating and discourteous treatment and detention at various immigration stations. They are practically treated like a class apart from the rest of humanity. The Chungking authorities must also know that in most of the cities of America unfriendly social pressure forces the few Chinese who have managed to establish their residence there to live in segregated Chinatowns located in the most disreputable districts.

I hope you will forgive the Japanese, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I will.

Mr. WALSH (reading):

Chungking authorities must know also that throughout the greatest part of the Western States of America the Chinese are rigidly prohibited through crafty legal racial restrictions from residing anywhere except in the most undesirable neighborhoods. The Chungking authorities must also know that the Chinese are rigidly excluded from attaining American citizenship, by naturalization, a right which is accorded to the lowliest immigrant from Europe. The Chungking authorities must know the social customs in America force the Chinese to remain in the most menial of occupations, despised and mistreated and, at best, patronizingly tolerated with a contemptuous humor.

I will give you for the record a number of copies of these. I have five copies here. There are pages and pages of this material.

The CHAIRMAN. Please give us the material and the dates.

Mr. WALSH. The dates are here; most of them are earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be advisable to have a special print made of it as a committee print?

Is that agreeable to you gentlemen?

Mr. ALLEN. Is there anything in there that would be objectionable?

The CHAIRMAN. It is a broadcast.

Mr. WALSH. I would hate to see this kind of poison spread around. I would like you to know what is being done.

I think it is poison. I have picked out a few of the innuendoes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is advisable that, aside from printing it in the record, that we have a special committee print of all of these translated broadcasts, as indicated by the witness.

Is there any objection to that?

The Chair hears none, and the clerk will be directed to print these as a committee print, confidential print for the committee.

Proceed.

Mr. WALSH. Thus Japanese propaganda takes advantage of our laws which exclude and humiliate our Chinese friends. The unhappy fact is that all this is true. The most powerful propaganda is that which uses unquestioned facts.

Now, the previous paragraph that I read is almost literally true.

Now, China has been called "the gentleman of Asia" because the Chinese seldom press their own case. That may be to their credit. It is certainly to their disadvantage, as we have seen in such matters as the war supplies we sold to Japan before Pearl Harbor, the share that China has not had in lend-lease supplies, the airplanes we have not sent them, their absence from our strategic councils.

Now, in this matter of exclusion they feel deeply but they do not say very much. Their American friends must speak for them. And not only out of friendship but for the sake of the cause of the United Nations.

It is, in my judgment, a matter of downright military necessity that before great numbers of American soldiers go into China to fight beside Chinese soldiers, living among the Chinese people, using Chinese resources and Chinese soil as our base against Japan, we should recognize and establish the equality of China as our ally, by repealing the exclusion laws.

The Chinese themselves will not come forward to testify on this subject. Therefore I wish very respectfully to ask this committee whether you will not invite some Chinese to appear before you. If you do extend such an invitation I shall be very glad to give you the names of certain Chinese, now in Washington or in New York, whose testimony you will find well worth hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee would be much interested in such testimony. I think we ought to know both sides of the question. If you will communicate with me in the near future—these hearings are not going to end today as we have so many witnesses to hear—I should like to fix a morning for just that purpose.

Mr. WALSH. Miss Hilda Yen, who is here, happens to have been in Hong Kong at the time some of this stuff I am reading was broadcast there. And she knows what it sounds like, and what the Chinese said.

The CHAIRMAN. I have spoken to her; I have asked her to be here at the next hearing.

Mr. WALSH. She knows the effect of this propaganda.

Mr. ALLEN. Let me ask you a few questions, and I ask them because of your peculiar qualifications, being the editor of your magazine. I feel you are probably better qualified to answer them than most others, and I will ask them at the risk of my good friend objecting.

What will we do; just what will we do, or what should we do, Mr. Walsh, when the broader question is presented—I am trying to get information; I am trying to solve this question, and it is a serious question. We are all for helping China. There is not any objection to helping China, but we have a broader question. Just what are we going to do when it is presented.

Mr. WALSH. You mean the broader question of other Asiatic people?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. I can speak only for Chinese exclusion; but I favor personally, sir, much stricter immigration laws than we have now, and the reduction of quotas.

I think we should have fewer people coming into this country. I can name some of the countries which I think fewer people could come. I hope if Congress wishes to reduce quotas, I hope it will be done with some of the European people.

Mr. ALLEN. I agree that quotas should be cut.

Mr. WALSH. I think we should have fewer people coming into this country, and better people.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. BENNETT. On this question of propaganda, Is it your belief that you can get rid of this propaganda by this law?

Mr. WALSH. You cannot uproot false propaganda. Much of it is true propaganda, and I think we can get rid of a lot of it.

Mr. BENNETT. You cannot get rid of false propaganda?

Mr. WALSH. The Chinese know they are harping on truth. Now, if we remove the truth, they have to start on another line.

Mr. BENNETT. You cannot help them harping on what the reason was back of this thing.

Mr. WALSH. They will get a new line.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. And have you left these documents?

Mr. WALSH. I have, except for the one that I will have to find. (The documents referred to are as follows:)

SAMPLES OF JAPANESE-CONTROLLED RADIO COMMENTS ON AMERICA'S EXCLUSION ACT

I. December 24, 1942. Tokyo in English at 3:50 a. m. to western United States, Central and South America:

CANADA ALONE

It has recently become known that Ta Kung Pao, an influential Chungking journal, has expressed serious dissatisfaction at the treatment accorded by the Canadian Government to the Chinese residing in Canada. Such an attitude on the part of the Chungking leaders is indeed most easy to understand in view of the flagrantly discriminatory treatment which Canada in common with practically all the Anglo-American sections of the world has been traditionally meting out to Chinese as well as to all other Asiatics.

According to the Chungking journal, which is literally the official organ of the Chungking regime and accurately reflects the opinions of the leaders of that regime, Canada should improve its treatment of the rest of the Chinese as well as among the immigration laws which are highly discriminatory toward the Chinese. In view of the fact that the Anglo-American leaders are constantly preaching that their aim in the present war is to promote justice and equality among all the

peoples of the world, the Ta Kung Pao says in effect that the Canadian Government should apply the principle of equality to correct the unjust status of the Chinese residing in Canada.

Only through a rational solution of this issue can friendly relations between Canada and China be truly a fact. Such an expression of dissatisfaction upon the part of the Chungking authorities is, of course, well taken but it is to be wondered why the protest should have been confined to Canada. As bad as Canada's example is, it is only one example among the general practice which is universal in all the countries of the world where British and American influences hold sway.

In all the colonies of dominions of the British Empire and most conspicuous of all, in the United States, which makes the greatest pretense of professing justice and equality, the Chinese along with all other Asiatics are treated as pariahs, unworthy of enjoying the simple rights of courtesies accorded to other people as a matter of fact. The Chungking authorities must certainly know that Chinese are rigidly prohibited from emigrating to the United States and that this ban on Chinese immigration was established in the latter portion of the last century after a campaign of venomous vilification of the character of the Chinese people.

The Chungking authorities must know that the few Chinese who are temporarily permitted to enter the United States such as international merchants, professional men, and tourists, are forced to undergo the most humiliating and discourteous treatment and detention at the various immigration stations. They are practically treated like a class apart from the rest of humanity. The Chungking authorities must also know that in most of the cities of America unfriendly social pressure forces the few Chinese who have managed to establish their residence there, to live in segregated Chinatown, located in the most disreputable district. Chungking authorities must know also that, throughout the greatest part of the Western States of America, the Chinese are rigidly prohibited through crafty legal racial restrictions from residing anywhere except in the most undesirable neighborhoods.

The Chungking authorities must also know that the Chinese are rigidly excluded from attaining American citizenship by naturalization, a right which is accorded to the lowliest immigrant from Europe.

The Chungking authorities must know the social customs in America force the Chinese to remain in the most menial of occupations, despised and mistreated and at best patronizingly tolerated with a contemptuous humor. Why then is Chungking's dissatisfaction directed only against Canada? True enough all these discriminations exist in Canada, also, but they exist on a more gigantic scale in the land immediately to the south. Do the Chungking authorities mean to extend their protests eventually to the United States as well? At any rate, however, the recent outburst of the influential Chungking Journal against this racial discrimination in Canada serves as a significant omen. It is an omen that Chungking is beginning to harbor some doubt as to the sincerity of the United States and Britain. And well might such doubts arise for the attitude of these two powers has been transparent beyond belief. It is a wonder that Chungking did not perceive the true situation earlier. It is meaningful, indeed, that for decades the United States and the British Empire have been traditionally discriminating against the Chinese and all other Asiatics in (all their other) domains, and it is only after they have become hard-pressed in the present war, after they have become desperate, they use their allies to serve their ends.

Then they begin to talk of justice and equality and freedom and democracy. But once they begin talking of these things they talk with a vengeance. They must have persuaded, at least temporarily, people like the leaders of Chungking into believing that the Anglo-Americans stood for the equality of all races so eloquent indeed were their (high claims). But it is most meaningful indeed that while broadcasting these pretensions these Anglo-Americans have done nothing to put these ideals into practice in their own country. By talking of saving the world in the future, these Anglo-Americans are doing nothing to remedy the flagrant abuses which exist at home.

The fine ideals of the Atlantic Charter are thus obviously a fake to lure and fool other people into fighting for them but the principles cannot be met seriously by the authors for otherwise why is it that no attempt is being made to apply them in regions where they can be applied without procrastinations? Far from waging this war to liberate the oppressed peoples of the world, the Anglo-American leaders are trying to restore the obsolete system of imperialism by which they hope to prolong their iniquitous exploitation of the best portions of the earth.

The speech of Anthony Eden before the House of Commons on December 2 and the recent revelations of Paul Van Zeeland on the stand of Anglo-American capitalists for the economic subjugation of China as pointed out in our commentary of December 20 show what the secret aims of the United States and Britain really are. It is about time that the leaders of Chungking should become a little uneasy about the good will and sincerity of their Anglo-American allies who promised them high-sounding phrases for the future but give them nothing, nothing but danger and discrimination for the present as in the past.

II. January 8, 1943. Tokyo in Mandarin at 8:30 a. m. to America (probably also to China):

A (REVIEW) OF THE TRAAGIC HISTORY OF THE OVERSEAS CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

Yesterday we have discussed the true face of the United States in regard to the so-called open-door policy.

The United States developed the open-door policy into a treaty in February 1922 by the Nine-Power Pact. If you study the whole pact, you will find that in nature it is the same as the open-door policy. Your elders and teachers must have told you that the Nine-Power Pact was formulated by the various nations to protect the safety of China. At the same time, you have believed what they have said. But please think it over. Is it glorious or fame for China, who has 400,000,000 population and large territory, to ask the other nations to protect her safety?

The Europeans and Americans fundamentally regarded the continent of China as their common colony. When they discuss of China's problems they only hold closed conferences between each other, to settle their sphere of influences and their rights in China. They have never once considered China as an independent nation.

The Nine-Power Pact is obviously a pact that every nation controls China. But China still willingly held relation with them and willingly became the colony of the various nations. Such a case could be said "a phenomenon in foreign diplomacy."

In the world, no matter which independent nation, would not be ready to accept the ignominious principle of the open-door policy. If that nation willingly accepts the ignominious principle it means that she voluntarily forsakes her glory and independence. The United States used lies and sweet words (lit: flowery and cute words) to China. But the Chungking (authorities) did not feel that it was a national disgrace to accept the ignominious treaty. The United States is not a real friendly nation to China. An explanation of this does not require the Nine-Power Treaty. All we have to do is to look at the problems of the overseas Chinese in the United States. From these we can see the devious minds of the United States. Perhaps you all know. Several Chinese landed on San Francisco in 1848. They were the first Chinese who migrated to the United States. After several years gold mines were discovered in California but due to shortage of labor many Chinese laborers came in after 1895. At the end of 1860 over 35,000 Chinese migrated to the United States. Besides working in mines, many Chinese worked in the construction of the transcontinental railways and other labor jobs. They fully expressed the natural capacity to suffer hardships and endure strenuous work. They have contributed greatly to the prosperity of the United States. Later on the number of migrations of Chinese to the United States gradually increased. Their endurance and capacity to undertake hard laboring work frequently aroused the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the white laborers. Furthermore, the discrimination of colored races, which was always practiced in the United States, again risen. Therefore from 1855 to 1910, 51 years, several hundreds of cases of American cruelty on overseas Chinese were recorded. Although the American cruelties on Chinese were handed to the court for decision, the court always ruled that "any Chinese, Indians, or Negroes have no right to sue the white peoples." The pitiful appeals of the Chinese were put aside without consideration.

In 1870 after much difficulties, the Chinese were allowed to appear in court as witnesses only. At that time, the American newspapers had over 30 cases of American cruelties on Chinese.

In these recent years, several hundred overseas Chinese were killed in California. In fact almost every day a Chinese was killed by the white people. But only in one or two cases, the white people were subjected to punishment according to law.

Because at that time, the United States Government regarded it unnecessary to sentence death to a white man although he had killed Chinese. According to the above, at that time, the American people and United States Government fundamentally did not regard the Chinese as a human being.

In 1881 the United States announced the first Chinese (law) and prohibited the entering of Chinese laborers. Another thing that is worth while your attention, i. e., the laws said, "Any Chinese, although holding foreign citizenship, are not allowed to enter." In other words, this law aimed at all colored-raced Chinese. In May 1895 the United States Congress enacted the immigration law prohibiting Chinese to enter the United States. The immigration law regulated that any Chinese that are living in the United States without original permission of residence will be subjected to 1 year of hard labor and then driven out of the country. Would righteousness and humanity allow such law!

Again from the international trade would such law be allowed!

At present the United States Government have improved the treaties with China. You might think that the overseas Chinese in the United States have received good treatment due to the relation of allies. This sweet-worded but ugly-faced United States is doing these for the face of Chungking. I also hope the United States can also practice it. But facts are contrary. For instance, the United States drafted unnumberable single Chinese and put them in the Army. Talking about singles, the Chinese in the United States who had to leave their wives in China, because of the immigration laws, are classified as singles, thus denying his wife in China. This is the attitude of the United States toward allied peoples, who are fighting under the same common principle.

Gentlemen, our Japan have never badly treated the Chinese that are in Japan. At the same time, in the Japanese occupied territories of East Asia, we have never forced the Chinese into army. The difference between the inhuman nature of the Americans and the nature of our Japanese could be seen by facts. After you see the above about the oppression of the United States on China and insulting affairs, do you still wish to depend on the United States?

III. January 11, 1943. Shanghai, language and beam unrecorded, 8:45 p. m.: Lisbon.—Signing yesterday of new agreements with Britain concerning abolition of extraterritorial rights in China still leaves a number of special problems unsolved, declares the Chungking newspaper, Ta Kung Pao, which at the same time attacked discriminatory measures against Chinese in American immigration laws. This according to a message coming from Chungking this morning. The Chungking daily which of late has severely criticized allied policy toward Chungking and now takes no back talk from any foreign nation pointed out that one of the unsolved problems is the Kowloon leased territory, that is, the mainland opposite Hong Kong which is definitely a (word) of the unequal treaty. (Word) Chungking foreign minister T. V. Soong at the press conference said the Chiang regime has raised the question of the Kowloon territory in recent negotiations but that Britain has refused to discuss this question.

IV. January 16, 1943. Tokyo in Spanish at 3:30 p. m. to Latin America: The rift between England and the United States about the return of their concessions to China.

In view of the (rift) existing between the Governments of England and the United States about the return of their concessions to Chungking and the renunciation of the rights of extraterritoriality [extraterritoriality] which the Anglo-Americans are (disputing) in China, they have been compelled to neglect to make a joint statement to that effect. The main clause of the disagreement is founded upon rivalry existing between their respective rights in China. The British Government, resenting America's insistent and arrogant attitude, which is pressing for the return of Hong Kong, insists that the United States should give better treatment to the Chinese by reforming the American immigration laws.

V. January 16, 1943. Tokyo News in English at 12:30 p. m. to western United States of America:

The Anglo-American joint statement on the abolition of extraterritorial rights and the return of the concessions to Chungking reportedly has been halted due to difference of opinion on the matter. The United States urged Britain to return Hong Kong while Britain, on the other hand, asked the United States to revoke the immigration law and to stop the recruiting of Chinese residents in the United States. Both Governments refused the others request.

The Chungking special envoy, Mr. Ching Hsiung Hui, came to London from Washington where he was badly treated as an envoy and demanded of the British authorities that decent, equal treatment be accorded to the Chinese people.

Due to strong discontent among British authorities toward America, London refused the Washington request and made a request to Washington which in turn refused to comply with the London request.

VI. Jan. 17, 1943. Tokyo in French at 12:30 p. m. to southwest Asia:

Commenting on the new accord reached between Chungking and the Government of London and Washington, well-informed Tokyo circles express the opinion that this (measure) is (completely) nonsensical, and that if the British and American Governments intend to accord equality to Chungking, why don't they (start by) (canceling) the immigration law now in force in the United States, and the rights which Britain possesses in Hong Kong and (name).

The same circles add that (three words) the Chungking press also finds this measure absolutely contradictory.

VII. Jan. 18, 1943. Tokyo in Mandarin at 8:30 a. m. to eastern America and Latin America:

Chungking newspapers all express dissatisfaction of the United States and Britain.

Every newspaper in Chungking, especially the Ta Kung Pao, official newspaper of Chungking, recently all published articles on the return of the foreign settlements and of the abolishment of extraterritoriality. They said, "The United States and Britain were forced to make the announcements of relinquishment of rights when they saw the fact that Japan had righteously returned the foreign settlements and relinquished extraterritoriality. From the Allied standpoint, superficially we express satisfaction but inside of us, we cannot express satisfaction. Because the expulsion of Chinese in the United States is still (continuing). China also have not heard of the (return) of the Kowloon leased territory. We hope that the United States and Britain will give us a fair answer."

VIII. February 26, 1943. Hsinking in English at 10:30 a. m. to South Seas: The Nippon Times pointedly warned (word) the (word) attitude of the United States toward Chungking in commenting editorially on the bill for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was introduced in the House of Representatives a few days ago, and described the bill as entirely meaningless because it is impossible for the Chinese to reach the United States. If the Americans really desired to accord fair treatment to the Chinese, why don't they repeal alien land laws which deprive the Chinese of the right to own property in the United States, or marriage laws in certain States like California which forbid the Chinese from marrying persons of the white race, declared the Nippon Times.

IX. January 27, 1943. Hongkong in Mandarin at 7:30 a. m. to Chungking:

FROM THE FIGURES

My listeners, we have repeatedly talked about the true aim of the United States in helping Chungking. The true aim of the United States in aiding Chungking is to divide the unity of East Asia. Entirely, a selfish policy of the United States to utilize Chungking to fight. Time after time, we have brought out illustrations of the United States selfishness. Here we bring out another.

According to Washington wire, on January 25, Stettinius, Lease-Lend Chief, reported to the Congress the records of the lease-lends to the anti-Axis nations. He said, "The United States had lease-lend a total of \$8,252,730,000 to the allied nations * * * \$3,959,000,000 to Britain and only \$156,000,000 to Chungking." From these figures we can see that Chungking received only one twenty-fifth that of Britain. Furthermore, we can see the real intention of the United States in utilizing Chungking.

By the figures, we see no reason why the United States should lessen her supply to Chungking because the Burma Road and other roads are blocked. True, the Burma Road is cut off, but has the United States put in the account that Chungking is suffering more the greater and in dire need of more supply? Chungking is only dreaming of reopening the Burma Road and the northwestern routes. Such dream will never come true.

To take the blockade of the Burma Road as an excuse, in giving only one-twenty-fifth of that of Britain's amount, to Chungking is unreasonable.

The United States has always looked down on Chungking. She has always discriminated the Asiatic people with the Anglo-Saxon race. These are the real reasons why the United States has bullied you.

The United States abolished the extraterritorial rights because she wished to ingratiate East Asia. She is not doing it because she wants to liberate China. From her immigration laws, you could see her real intention. The United States loves Britain more than Chungking because they are of the same race. Since

there is no difference of races between the United States and Britain naturally much greater help is given to Britain. Since Chungking is a different race, an East Asiatic race, how could the United States be true in helping Chungking? Not only have Chungking become the running dog of the United States and Britain but her remaining strength have been exploited by the United States and Britain to the lowest degree.

The United States and British slogan to China is, "to liberate China and for the peace and construction of China." This slogan should be changed to "Chungking is aided for the selfish principles of the United States and Britain."

If the World War stops tomorrow, we could be quite certain how the United States and Britain will treat Chungking. At that time, Chungking will be pleading and begging for help from the United States and Britain—which will be refused. Thus we recall the slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics." The present war is started for the liberation of East Asia. All other races in East Asia have recognized the meaning of the GEA War, except Chungking, who is now the abandoned orphan of East Asia. * * *

X. March 5, 1943. Tokyo in Japanese at 7 a. m. to South America; also in English at 12 noon to Thailand, Indo-China, and southern regions.

The Chungking regime, which is pressing impossible requests of "carry out aid to Chiang Kai-shek" almost as though they are demands and which is making the Americans in charge wince, has brought up demands for the abolition of the American law on refusal of entry into the country of Chinese in order further to censure America's insincerity.

According to a wire from Chungking, the "Ta Kung Pao," organ of the regime there, in its editorial on March 4 stated as follows:

"Although Americans due to the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights can freely enter the regions under the control of Chungking, is it not inexcusable that America does not withdraw her refusal of entry into the country of Chinese? What is the reason for fear on the part of America, who has a strong economic foundation, of the entry into the country of a small number of Chinese?"

And so pouring sarcasm and venomous language on America's insincerity, Chungking is hysterically striking out and giving vent to her anger.

XI. March 5, 1943. Tokyo in English at 12 noon to India.

Canton. The Chungking government which [has been] embarrassing the United States by screaming for immediate help approved a demand to abolish a law prohibiting Chinese immigration in order to reproach the United States attitude toward Chungking. Ta Kung Pao, the Chungking propaganda organ, in its editorial on Thursday said, "To demonstrate fully the relation between Chungking and the United States it is necessary to abolish the law prohibiting Chinese immigration. The Chungking government cannot understand why the United States fears the immigration of a small number of Chinese into that country. It is not [plausible] that there are many Chinese who have the intention of immigrating into the United States. The Chinese are not so rude a nation as to violate the [intentions] of other nations."

XII. Tokyo Domei in English at 5 a. m. to the world March 12, 1943:

Commenting on the Ta Kung Pao's pathetic outcry in its editorial of March 4 wherein the Chungking mouthpiece deplores the treatment of Chinese in the United States and expresses the forlorn hope that the American Government will repeal the anti-Chinese Immigration Act well-informed quarters here declared Chungking to be [several words] in its attempt in the opinion of these observers it is not unnatural for the Chungking people to think the time is opportune for them make to such a demand on America for by all indications Soong Mei-Ling is proving a social success in Washington.

They added that Chungkingers have been impressed by the fact that the Nanking government has been able to liquidate China's century-old stigma of subservience to Anglo-America by regaining full control of her territories with Japan's assistance.

However, observers said that disillusionment it is and it will remain a disillusionment for Chungkingers. According to observers the hatred Anglo-American nations harbor against Asiatic races is an inborn trait and it is nothing that can be overcome by any means.

XIII. March 17, 1943. Tokyo in Mandarin to China—Children's Hour:

In its "Children's Hour," Tokyo says that, while white people are free to live in China, the Chinese cannot enter the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Rev. Dr. Worley here?

Dr. WORLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please step forward?

STATEMENT OF REV. DR. LLOYD WORLEY, STAMFORD, CONN.

Dr. WORLEY. Lloyd Worley, Stamford, Conn.

The point of view I would like to present, if you please, is that from a certain segment of our population.

I came with a definite mandate from the senior effective bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, who asked me to represent him here today.

Following a committee report and session, a committee report and discussion at the New York east conference a week ago this afternoon, our social service committee, which studied these bills which are being proposed, brought in a report, a copy of which I would like to file with your secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. You may file it in the record.

Dr. WORLEY. It was discussed in the committee and it was adopted unanimously.

They requested the bishop to come down and present their point of view, but because he has certain duties on him due to the tragic death of Bishop Leonard, he asked me to take his place, and he asked one of the laymen of our conference, Mr. Haas, whom I hope you will hear a little later in the afternoon.

I am expressing the point of view of a certain segment of our people in favor of this.

I want to come also because we feel a particular kinship to China because it happens the Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kai-shek are co-religionists of ours.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a good ground.

Dr. WORLEY. They are members in good standing of the Methodist Church. We are proud of them, and we certainly would not want the voice of the church to be silent at this time when an issue, which I am sure is very close to their hearts, is being presented.

I want to show also how this exclusion law works out in my own church.

I have a Chinese family, a member of my own church, Richard Lee. He is a mechanic but he cannot get a job in a war industry because he is not an American citizen; I mean, in a war plant.

He has a son, Paul Lee. Paul has wanted, as a 17-year-old boy, to volunteer in the Navy, but because he is not an American citizen, he cannot do it. He may be drafted when he reaches his eighteenth birthday, and at the end of 3 months, provided he can show that he was in the country legally, he might become an American citizen; but, because, like a lot of other Chinese, he came here before he knew anything about it; he cannot even become an American citizen, also he is denied the opportunity to serve in the Navy, denied the opportunity to enlist, and denied the opportunity of doing what a good many other aliens are, even from enemy alien countries, could do.

This puts China in the position of inequality that makes them, as a sensitive people, feel that they are receiving scant justice from our country.

If I may indulge in just one supposition, it may happen that in 20 years the present rulers of China may not be in control. It might happen that the First Lady in China might seek refuge in the United States.

Here is a man who owns his own home, who has owned his home in our community for 25 years, and yet his son cannot enlist in the Navy because his father came from China.

Now, under those circumstances, if Madam Chiang Kai-shek should apply for citizenship in our country under existing laws, she could not be received.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, at one time Columbus himself could not have come in here; the quota was dead.

Dr. WORLEY. The point I am bringing out is that it is all very well for us to listen to her in the House and applaud her speeches on the radio, and all that, but actions speak louder than applause in dealing with justice with a person of like attainments.

That is my statement.

Mr. ALLEN. With reference to Madam Chiang Kai-shek, as she spoke I wrote in my weekly letter to the newspapers of my district a statement about her and I said she was one of the great women of the world and I gave as one fact that she was an outstanding Christian woman.

(The report submitted by Dr. Worley is as follows:)

Whereas there are now before Congress several bills dealing with the exclusion-immigration-naturalization issue (e. g., H. R. 1882, H. R. 2428, H. R. 2429, H. R. 2309, et al.); and

Whereas the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization plans to conduct public hearings on or about May 19 and 20 to review the entire situation as to racial references in both the immigration and naturalization laws: Be it

Resolved, That we the members of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Church express ourselves as being in the fullest sympathy with current efforts to remove the racial and color tests from our laws as they apply to persons seeking entry to the United States and applying for naturalization to American citizenship; and

That we approve therefore such legislation as will adjust our relations with friendly orientals, by repealing our exclusion laws, and amending our immigration and naturalization laws so as to permit persons of oriental races to be admitted to the United States on the same quota basis as applies to other races, and thus allow them to become citizens of the United States by the normal processes of naturalization.

Adopted unanimously, Brooklyn, N. Y., May 13, 1943.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Senator Mary Farquharson here?
Will you give your name first, Senator?

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MARY FARQUHARSON, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Miss FARQUHARSON. Mary Farquharson.

Mr. MASON. I would like to know the "senator" part of it?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Mr. Congressman, I served in the State Senate of the State of Washington for 8 years. My term ran out in January and I did not run again so at present I am not a senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not choose to run?

Miss FARQUHARSON. I did not choose to run; that is right.

However, I am here today representing a group, women's group, called the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group which is associated with the immortal name of Jane Addams; but because I do come from the West, because I have lived there most of my life, in Seattle, because I did serve in the State senate for 8 years, I think I have an acquaintanceship that is fairly widespread, and so

when I speak in favor of this resolution, I am sure I represent not only my own group, but a great many other people on the west coast, and that, I would like to emphasize here now.

We are shocked to hear a statement such as was made here this morning that certain races are degenerate, certain races are immoral.

I would like to underline what Miss Buck said, that the Chinese should not be judged on the basis of race or nation but on the individuals, and I think that has been our philosophy right along.

Therefore, quite frankly, while we are heartily in favor of this resolution which has been introduced, we believe that it should be applied more widely.

That has been a policy of the organization for many years. In other words, we do not agree that immigration laws or naturalization laws should be based on race. We do not think people are good or bad because they are born of a certain race, and I would like to emphasize that.

Now, we think immigration and naturalization laws in an interdependent world are of extreme importance if something is to be worked out that will not end in another war.

It has been suggested here by several of the committee members that we want to act on the basis of our own self-interest.

Mr. Chairman, we are convinced that our self-interest cannot be considered apart from the self-interest of other nations. We are in an interdependent world, as Mr. Wendell Willkie is telling millions of people, and I would suggest that the rate at which his book is selling is showing how hungry people are to hear it, as he is telling them that we have become one world, and I think we have to face frankly the situation that we, as a nation, cannot determine our policy without thinking about other groups, other nations, other races.

As I heard a speaker not long ago say, we can either keep our prejudices or we can keep our sons; we cannot keep both.

And I think I could enlarge it to say we could determine a policy which seems to concern narrowly our self-interests without considering whether it will get us into another war or not, or we can consider our real self-interests, and a realistic approach in the light of what will serve the welfare of all of the world.

It has been said that this is just a gesture.

We are in favor of this repeal. We believe it should be extended. We believe the American people want that.

We are not in the same world we were 50 years ago, Mr. Congressman, we are in a different world, but it is more than a gesture because it shows we are saying we realize we are in a new world, and even though it is a small number that come in, it bases our immigration and naturalization policy on something other than race.

Now, I would like to emphasize—I appreciate very much and the organization does, the opportunity to appear here. I am sure I speak for a large number of people who live on the west coast.

Mr. MASON. I want to clear up in your mind that word "gesture." I have used it more than once. It is a gesture in the sense that it provides for a hundred or so that may come in. It certainly is not a gesture in the sense that it lifts a stigma that has been placed on the Chinese people.

Miss FARQUHARSON. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Is it not your observation on the Pacific coast that the first, second, and third generation of Chinese born in this country make very fine citizens?

Miss FARQUHARSON. It certainly is. I have known many fine Chinese people all my life.

Mr. ELMER. How about the Japanese?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Many fine Japanese people, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Mr. Elmer?

Mr. ELMER. What about the people of Africa; they are becoming naturalized.

Miss FARQUHARSON. They do.

Mr. ELMER. This bill says it will only extend to white persons of African descent or nativity.

Miss FARQUHARSON. As I understand it.

Mr. ELMER. I thought you had read the bill.

Miss FARQUHARSON. I have.

Mr. ELMER. Well, that is what this bill says here, Mr. Kennedy's bill.

Miss FARQUHARSON. Our immigration laws are quite complicated.

The CHAIRMAN. Will my colleague yield to me?

Mr. ELMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The African question is in the law now.

Mr. ELMER. I want to know if you would favor a world-wide scale of letting everybody come in here?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Not all of them; those on a quota.

Mr. ELMER. All of them can come in, then, regardless of race, creed, or color?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. You would not want the Japanese to come in?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Not an enemy country, no.

Mr. ALLEN. They may be enemies a thousand years.

Miss FARQUHARSON. The Lord made Germans and Italians and we are going to have to get along.

Mr. ALLEN. He used inferior material, then, in making the Japanese.

Miss FARQUHARSON. Well, that is His responsibility, then.

Mr. ELMER. Up to 4 or 5 years ago, we thought the Japs were all right.

The CHAIRMAN. We never did.

Mr. ELMER. Oh, yes; we did.

Miss FARQUHARSON. I never thought the Japanese military was all right, and our organization was on record years ago against exporting war materials to Japan.

Mr. ELMER. Well, up to a few years ago we sent stuff over there for the Japanese to use.

Miss FARQUHARSON. I opposed it as much as I could.

Mr. ELMER. What is the organization?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded by Jane Addams.

Mr. ELMER. That is a Nation-wide organization?

Miss FARQUHARSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ELMER. And you are president of the Washington chapter?

Miss FARQUHARSON. No, sir; I am a member of the national board.

Mr. ELMER. Your organization tries to promote international good will?

Miss FARQUHARSON. It has, for many years. Some of the members in foreign countries have lost their lives for opposing fascism, or for aggressively opposing Hitler earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. Not more aggressive than I was.

Miss FARQUHARSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator, for coming here. Mr. Haas?

STATEMENT OF CHARLES C. HAAS, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN HAT CO., NORWALK, CONN.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, please.

Mr. HAAS. Mr. Chairman, I came here to substantiate Dr. Worley, because Bishop McConnell, of New York east conference appointed me to represent that group at conference, from the layman's point of view, and I also am a member of the social service commission of that group in which we take up these problems and study them through the year, and then present them to the conference when they meet, as they met last week, and consequently directed in our report to the conference—this—I will just read part of it:

We are stirred by the fact that no abler woman than Madam Chiang Kai-shek could not under our laws become an American citizen because of the country of her birth. Even before the war is over we should consider enactment of legislation to provide that the right of a person to become a naturalized citizen of the United States be not denied or abridged because of race, color, or of national origin.

Resulting from that, the resolution that Dr. Worley—

The CHAIRMAN. You are just reiterating that statement?

Mr. HAAS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have that.

Mr. HAAS. Now, our other point. As a leader, as a business leader, as a production engineer in our community, I have talked to various groups and clubs, and so forth, at length, and a vast majority of the people are—having considered it—in favor of having this bill go into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; than you very much.

Mr. HAAS. I just want to add one word. As an industrialist, I employ many people and for years I have been interested in the foreign-born. I employ all sorts of people—Hungarians, Czechs, Serbians, Italians, and always have helped them in their naturalization to become good American citizens, and in my estimation, having watched the problem for years, it would not be derogatory to the best interests of the United States.

Our manpower shortage is quite severe. I could, tomorrow morning, discuss with the leaders of our industry and place possibly 100 Chinese, right in the city of Norwalk.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not get any men?

Mr. HAAS. You cannot get any men. Manpower shortage is really serious.

The CHAIRMAN. I am afraid you will not be able to do much with a quota of 107.

Mr. HAAS. I just want to point out that this is a ridiculous thing. They would be lost. Manufacturers would welcome them and even

so, it would be desirable that they would be of a certain standard, no questions would be asked as to whether they had a high school education or not; we will be very happy to have them, and very happy to—I know they will merge into the general workings of the community.

The CHAIRMAN. I will have to send you down some.

Mr. HAAS. I wish you would; I could use them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Villard?

STATEMENT OF OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. VILLARD. Mr. Chairman, I am Oswald Garrison Villard.

Gentlemen of the committee, I appear before you on behalf of the Post-War World Council of New York City and the National Peace Conference, which is the clearinghouse for 37 organizations, some of them with a membership running into millions.

Among the foremost of these organizations are the League of Nations Association, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, and the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

For the National Peace Conference, which seeks the abolition of all racial discrimination in immigration legislation, I am here to request the immediate removal of all immigration restrictions upon the Chinese and their being given the same place under the quota law which non-Asiatic nations are now receiving.

For myself personally and the Post-War World Council I am here to ask the same thing for the Chinese and to record our belief also that all restrictions should be removed from other peoples of color similarly.

We voice an especial plea for the admission of the Filipinos to this country and to citizenship. If they have not earned this by their support of our country since Pearl Harbor, who else could be worthy of it? But the council and I myself realize fully that the first objective in our program is the clearing of the way for the Chinese. We consider this issue of altogether extraordinary importance.

It is no longer merely a question as to whether we shall permit members of a race whose color is different from that of the bulk of our citizens to enter this country.

It is no longer a domestic issue concerning only ourselves and China, but it is one of profound moment to all the United Nations—yes; to the winning of the war itself.

It is an acid test of the sincerity of ourselves and our allies for, if the exclusion of the Chinese from this country is not modified now and forthrightly, then the whole avowed moral structure of the United Nations collapses. Our whole pretense that we are fighting for democracy and the "four freedoms" will crash to the ground.

If we do not admit the Chinese to the same standing on our immigration quota list as is extended to all the white peoples, then we must not expect any Chinese to believe in the sincerity of any statement we may make as to our altruistic purposes in this global war.

Already there is the gravest doubt in China as to whether the beneficences of the Atlantic Charter are to be applied to the peoples of all colors and whether the "four freedoms" are not restricted to those who by reason of the whiteness of their skins have so long arrogated to themselves racial aristocracy.

How can we Americans continue to denounce the abominable racial doctrines of Hitler, those utterly unscientific presumptions of Aryan superiority, if we continue to say to the Chinese:

You are our allies in this war and have given us great aid in fighting the Japanese for nearly 6 years, and you must go on fighting for yourselves and for us. But if you think that therefore you are good enough to obtain the rights to have less than 100 of your people settle annually in the United States, you are greatly mistaken. As cannon fodder you are of the best, but as residents of America and future citizens of this Republic, excuse us, but you just don't qualify. We shall fight with you, but not even this infinitesimal part of your vast population shall dwell among our 130,000,000 Americans.

But the wrong and injustice that we have done ourselves by this exclusion of the Chinese is so great that I am almost ashamed to treat it from the point of view of the war, of our friendly unity with the Chinese people in our joint hostilities against the Japanese.

But if we do not do the right thing now in placing the Chinese on equal terms with our other allies, then we shall surely have our Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy written upon our faces and published throughout the world. The Berlin radio will transmit it; Tokyo's radios will rub it in on China by day and by night, saying:

You see, it's no use. These Christians, with all their talk of brotherly love, are only pretending friendship and good will and mutual regard. Their declaration that this war is to uphold the right to personal dignity and personal freedom for every individual, and the equality of all men whatever their race or religion or antecedents, is the purest nonsense. Come join us Japanese in driving the last humbugging white man out of the Orient and in keeping him out. Let us have an Asia which will be free from white exploitation, from white colonies and settlements and concessions.

This message will go the rounds not only in China, but in Burma, Malaya, in Indochina, in Tibet, in Siam.

It will find its way into the lowliest hut in India by that most extraordinary of all human communication systems, the grapevine telegraph, and if it goes on the air, it may come perilously close to costing us the war with Japan.

Of course it is not merely a question of prestige or of a technical discrimination. Exclusion has carried with it and voiced a spirit of caste as hateful as any devised by Nazi malignity.

It has been accompanied by the most violent attacks upon the entire Chinese people. They have, during the period when these laws were being passed, been showered with contempt and denounced as horribly vicious and depraved and breeders of pestilence.

At one moment they have been charged with threatening the whites of California with starvation because of their willingness to work overtime and for lower wages, and then the next moment they have been denounced because their superior efficiency gave them along some industrial lines advantage over the born Americans. And again and again in the past they were butchered upon our soil by mass murders.

I want to remind you of the great things that Chinese labor did for us in the opening up of the western portion of this country. I am

a son of the man who drove the first transcontinental railway across the American Northwest, the first rail link from Minnesota to Oregon and the waters of Puget Sound. I was near him when he drove the last spike and paid an eloquent tribute to the men who had built that railroad by their manual labor for there were no road-making machines in those days.

He never forgot and never failed until the end of his life to praise the Chinese among them, of whom nearly 10,000 stormed the forest fastnesses, endured cold and heat and the risk of death at the hands of hostile Indians to aid in opening up our great northwestern empire.

I have a dispatch from the chief engineer of the Northwestern Pacific, telling how the Chinese laborers went out into 8 feet of snow with the temperature far below zero to carry on the work when no Americans dared face the conditions.

To the completer of that railroad the decision of this country to exclude Chinese always seemed an indefensible wrong, an act of grossest injustice and ingratitude.

But it was not only in this case that the Chinese made so stanch a contribution to the advancement of the West.

They labored in the pioneering settlements which opened up all the Pacific States under most arduous conditions.

They did their share in the building of the Panama Canal and other enterprises, only to be excluded when the great need for them had passed.

As Under Secretary Welles has put it, in the peace to come there must be no distinction whatsoever between people because of racial characteristics or antecedent conditions.

That is the official statement of the Government of the United States, through the Under Secretary of State, and it has never been contradicted by Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Hull, or anybody else.

Let us not wait, gentlemen, until the coming of that peace to do justice to this great people, and let us do it so promptly and so clearly that no enemy of the United States can possibly misconstrue the action, or read in it anything else save a desire of the moral forces and the conscience of America to right this ancient wrong to the Chinese people.

I am not here to appeal on behalf of any particular bill. What we ask of the committee is that it itself formulate a short clear-cut measure putting Chinese nationals on exactly the same footing as English and French immigrants to the United States.

Let us recognize thus the steadfastness, the admirable qualities and virtues of the Chinese, and their tremendous promise for the future of mankind.

There are only three great nations that hold the hopes of mankind within their borders, China, Russia, and the United States.

Let us now, as Pearl Buck has so eloquently warned us, persist in a position which may lead to a third and final world war, the war of races, or one color against another.

And the dark colors are of innumerable superiority to the whites.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Villard, I was interested in the statement you just made about the three great nations which you say hold the hope of the human race.

I notice you mention China, Russia, and the United States. You didn't mention England. Why?

Mr. VILLARD. I am thinking of nations that have great, vast spaces and the great unused wealth.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, England has more space than any other nation, except, perhaps, Russia.

Mr. VILLARD. I am not thinking of the British Empire.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Villard, here is the thing that is striking to me. I do not think there is anybody on this committee that wants to say to the Chinese or to anybody else, "We do not want you because of your color."

I have never heard anything like that on the committee, but if you people feel that the Chinese or other Orientals should come in here, if you feel that Oriental exclusion has been so terrible for 60 years, why is it that you and others have not done something about it sooner?

Now, you may ask me why I have not done something about it and that would be a proper question, and my answer to that would be that I have not done anything about it because I do not think that immigration should be increased. I have never felt that immigration should be increased. And that is my answer, and I think a very complete one.

Now, why have you folks not done something about it?

Mr. VILLARD. Why have we not, what?

Mr. ALLEN. Why have you not done something about this Oriental question sooner?

Mr. VILLARD. I have.

Mr. ALLEN. What have you done about it?

Mr. VILLARD. I have written many times about it.

Mr. ALLEN. Have you ever urged any Member of Congress to introduce a bill on it?

Mr. VILLARD. No.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, why?

Mr. VILLARD. Because I have seen my function to lie in my editorial pen, and I have borne my testimony, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, we are not opposed to the Chinese; we are not against them because they are Chinese at all; we are not against the Chinese themselves. Our position is that we do not want to see immigration quotas enlarged.

Mr. VILLARD. For more than 40 years, sir, I have been with the American press, and I have never failed to lift my voice, during that time, against this injustice to the Chinese people.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

Mr. ELMER. Mr. Villard, this present law here extends it only to the white persons of African descent; just the white people. Also to people indigenous to the Western Hemisphere.

Are you in favor of putting all of them on a quota?

Mr. VILLARD. I am.

Mr. ELMER. All of them?

Mr. VILLARD. I am; all of them.

Mr. ELMER. Without regard to color?

Mr. VILLARD. Whether you decide that the quota should only be 5 people to the Nation is for the Congress of the United States to decide, representing the will of the American people. If you say that only 5 English are to come in, 5 Germans, 5 French, 5 Italians, you should say also 5 Chinese.

Mr. ELMER. Suppose we say 100 English, and 5 Chinese?

Mr. VILLARD. That is up to you.

Mr. ELMER. That is the present law. There is discrimination.

Mr. VILLARD. I do not follow you there; it is whatever you see fit.

Mr. ELMER. Well, it is in the present law.

Mr. VILLARD. I am entirely in favor of extending the existing law, just as it stands, to every people.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Villard, I just want to keep the record straight here.

You are talking about the building of the Union Pacific. I thought the Irish did that.

Mr. VILLARD. You are talking about the Union Pacific. I was talking about the Northern Pacific.

Mr. BENNETT. Just one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. Are you in favor of putting the quota for the Chinese, for example, the same as you would for the English or the French, or some European nationality?

Mr. VILLARD. I would.

Mr. BENNETT. In other words, if we let in 25,000 British, you would say that we should let in 25,000 Chinese?

Mr. VILLARD. I should favor that.

Mr. Chairman, I have handed the reporter a list of our organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Friends Service Committee.
 American Unitarian Association.
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
 Catholic Association for International Peace (consultative).
 Central Conference of American Rabbis.
 Church Peace Union.
 Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.
 Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches.
 Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.
 Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church (consultative).
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.
 Foreign Missions Conference.
 Foreign Policy Association (consultative).
 Friends' General Conference.
 Girls' Friendly Society.
 Institute of International Education.
 International Society of Christian Endeavor.
 International Student Service.
 League of Nations Association.
 National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.
 National Council of Jewish Women.
 National Council for Prevention of War.
 National Council of Women of the United States.
 National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association.
 National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary, Episcopal Church.
 National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
 National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.
 National Student Federation.
 National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
 Post War World Council.
 United Council of Church Women.

United Synagogue of America.

War Resisters League.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Women's League of the United Synagogue of America.

World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

World Peaceways.

The National Peace Conference seeks the abolition of racial discrimination in immigration legislation. In accord with this policy, we request the opportunity for a statement to be made by our representative at the congressional hearings on the removal of discrimination regarding the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Eby here? Kermit Eby?

STATEMENT OF KERMIT EBY, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. EBY. Kermit Eby, department of education and research, C. I. O.

I am very happy to be here in that capacity for three reasons. The first reason that I am happy to be here is to be part of the great company that have preceded me. I think it is a great honor to agree with the Federal Council of Churches, the Catholic churches, Miss Buck, Mr. Villard.

The second reason I am happy to be here is because the American labor movement in the past has at times supported exclusion of Chinese, so I am glad to see them reverse that trend.

And the third reason I am happy to be here is that it seems to be historically significant when the representative of a great organization such as the C. I. O. is in a position to assert leadership which places public interest above group interest. I do not know when I have had a happier occasion —

The CHAIRMAN. We are happy to have you here.

Mr. EBY. To be able to assert that this is a period of history when we do put the interest of the Nation above that of the group.

Now, the resolutions of the C. I. O. last year in convention very definitely speak out against discrimination of people on the basis of their racial origin.

The educational committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations spoke out very emphatically against that type of discrimination, and they particularly asserted that, it seems to me, in these words:

Whereas we recognize especially that the Japanese Government propaganda in the Philippines, India, Malay, occupied China, and Japan continually cites our Oriental Exclusion Act as a symbol of our alleged insincerity in the fight for democracy: Therefore be it

Resolved, That educational conference of district No. 1, United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, urged the repeal of this discriminatory law so that our heroic allies in the Pacific will be placed under the quota regulations of South Americans, Europeans, Africans, and Australians.

Now, I believe the mechanics association which was represented this morning, at least with some people in the audience, was confused with the American labor movement. I do not believe it is a labor organization, and it should not be confused for that reason.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has about 800,000 men and women, if you consider the families and relatives, actively engaged in the war effort. They come from the centers which produce the goods and the instruments of war. They have a particular interest in effectively waging that war. We feel that for every effort

China makes as our ally, we will be strengthened and the risks to our boys will be limited because of the things that they do.

You have heard the references in regard to the Atlantic Charter. We want to report our sentiments in that direction, and I want to say also, along that line that one of the reasons that the labor movement speaks is because of the fact that it is quite easy in periods of history like this to make abstract statements.

This, to me, is a definition of the abstract concept of justice into a specific situation.

I have had some connections with religious organizations in the past; very close with some of them. Part of them took me into connection with the Quaker Church, and here it seems to me the bridge is being gapped.

Here you are specific, you use your influence to give proof not only to sentiments which are expressly religionist, to the transfer of idealization into justice.

People around the world are using the test in regard to our attitude.

I might add to my testimony that I have had the experience of visiting Japanese schools and colleges and I deliberately picked up all the sayings of Japanese schoolboys. I still have in my possession some 200 items.

Without exception the Japanese boys started out by saying that they wanted to be friends of America, and they wanted that friendship to be transmitted through the repeal of the Exclusion Act, and then they say if you do that you are going to give us strength, you are transmitting your action into a specific situation; and it seems to me had that been done we might have escaped some of the effect of the present period of history.

Now I am calling attention next to things you all know. Certain unfortunate things happened in Burma and in the Malay Peninsula where certain of our allies were not supported by the natives, and they were not because the people there had certain discriminatory acts and had we been democratic lives would have been saved in those particular situations.

I am proud of the fact that America today through its attitude; its attitude toward the Philippines, has helped the morale of the Filipinos to the point where they are aggressively resisting, I read the other day, and where the Japanese were inviting the Philippine guerrillas to quit fighting, and if they are fighting yet I think it is because America has demonstrated that the Philippines are going to have an opportunity as equals.

Broadcasts on propaganda have been given. I will not repeat them.

I only want to add it is indeed a rare opportunity to be here and to make the history in the opposite direction and to say for pragmatic reasons only this will be the greatest step in terms of our own interest that we could take.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. BENNETT. Whom do you represent?

Mr. EBY. The Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. BENNETT. You mean the entire organization?

Mr. EBY. I am speaking, yes, for the entire organization.

Mr. BENNETT. You would favor putting the Chinese on the same quota as European countries? In other words, if we let in 50,000 from France and England you would give the Chinese the same?

Mr. EBY. To me that is not the issue.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, would you answer the question?

Mr. EBY. No. I am completely in the position that the statement was on the basis of discrimination, and I would like to see them put on the quota basis which was the basis of the argument.

Mr. BENNETT. But you want to see them put on the same basis as other countries?

Mr. EBY. I am here today speaking in favor of the quota recognition.

Mr. BENNETT. You do not want to say whether you favor putting them on the same basis as other countries?

Mr. EBY. I am not authorized to speak on that.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, would you speak individually? Can you give us individually your opinion as to the extent of the quota if one should be granted?

Mr. EBY. Individually my opinion is that the 107 should be admitted on the basis of the quota established to remove the stigma on a particular people as a racial group.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, pursuing the inquiry of my colleague there, would you go to the extent of saying that China, a country of probably 400,000,000 people, should have a quota in line with her population compared with England and France and Germany and all those countries?

Mr. EBY. As an individual; yes.

Mr. ALLEN. You would?

Mr. EBY. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words you realize then that your answer means that if England has a quota of 65,000 and has a rather small population, then we would have 300,000 or 400,000 of Chinese coming here each year.

Mr. EBY. Well, I would again take the position that Miss Buck did, that that is a matter of discretion as we go down the line. I am today simply pleading for the extremely pragmatic necessity of preventing what happened in Burma and down the line.

Mr. MASON. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. First I am rather surprised and pleased that the great labor organization which you represent has reversed its attitude on this Chinese exclusion problem.

Mr. EBY. So am I.

Mr. MASON. Is that not, you might say, an acknowledgement that in the past the labor organization has been wrong in this matter and has now seen the light and has reversed itself?

Mr. EBY. My answer to that is that I think the greatest thing that can come to the labor movement is placing national interest above group interest.

Mr. MASON. Now in the second place, about these quotas, quotas when the quota law was established were based entirely upon the ratio of the number of people here to the number of people there.

Mr. EBY. That is right.

Mr. MASON. And as the English people have the largest ratio, shall we say, and I am talking in general terms, to the number of people, that they were given the largest quota.

Mr. EBY. That is right.

Mr. MASON. But it did treat all nations alike so far as the number of their representatives.

Mr. EBY. That is right.

Mr. MASON. And if this bill is passed, undoubtedly, unless we would want to change the entire quota basis, we would have to place the Chinese on the same ratio basis, which we are told means 107, or something like that.

Mr. EBY. That is right. Among Chinese friends and Chinese students that I have had I have never had anyone asking for any adjustment in the quota principle. That is, they never felt that they were being discriminated against on the basis of the law as written.

The CHAIRMAN. We have time for only one more witness and then we are going to adjourn.

Is Mr. Wilmeth of the Junior Order here?

Mr. Wilmeth, you had someone here yesterday. Is it your policy to have more than one down here?

Mr. WILMETH. The gentleman who was here yesterday represented only New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, are we to hear all the States?

Mr. WILMETH. No; he does not represent the national council.

STATEMENT OF JAMES L. WILMETH, NATIONAL COUNCIL, JUNIOR ORDER, UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. WILMETH. Our organization is not a labor organization, but an old patriotic fraternity, celebrating its 90th birthday on the 17th day of this month.

Mr. FISHER. What is your organization, sir? I did not get it.

Mr. WILMETH. Fraternal, patriotic.

The CHAIRMAN. Junior Order of American Mechanics.

Mr. WILMETH. National council, Junior Order of American Mechanics.

Mr. ALLEN. Tell him how old it is.

Mr. WILMETH. Ninety years old last Monday.

Mr. GOSSETT. Nearly as old as the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. ALLEN. Older in experience than the gentleman from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. WILMETH. We are opposed to this measure because we are afraid of it.

You spoke here yesterday about the quota, and here today, of 107.

I have examined these laws here. This is intended to repeal and to amend, and I find no statement made whatever as to the imposition of any quotas.

I want to ask the committee if automatically the quota would be applied, and who has set this number of 107 for some 400,000,000 or 500,000,000 people?

In the testimony that came out yesterday much was spoken about good will and how the Chinese would appreciate this gesture.

It seems to me, gentlemen, that if 107 is all that can come in this is a very feeble gesture, indeed, and would scarcely justify the time and attention that it is receiving.

We are opposed to this bill because as far back as 1882 the Chinese were excluded, and that was not a fly-by-night affair. That was based upon a solemn treaty between the Emperor of China, the then Emperor of China, and the United States Government, governing the immigration of Chinese.

Now, when the Chinese first began to come into the western part of this country there was little or no trouble, but trouble did arise.

We had quite a different immigration problem here from the continent of Europe in the eastern part of the United States; but there began to come from the western part of the United States through the Representatives and Senators here in Congress serious complaint against these people, their method of living, the competition to which their people were subject, long hours these people worked, small pay; their methods of living made it so that they could work for much less wages. In fact, at wages at which our American citizens would starve.

And if this bill intends to bring in the great flood of these as came in back before this Chinese exclusion law, it would simply be ruinous to our people.

Mr. MASON. You say if this bill proposes to do that?

Mr. WILMETH. Yes.

Mr. MASON. This bill definitely does not propose to do that.

Mr. WILMETH. Well, this bill does not definitely state anything about quotas.

Mr. MASON. Well, the Department of Justice has figured out the number that would come in under our quota system, and it is around 107 or 108.

Mr. REES. It is not based on the population of China.

Mr. WILMETH. I know. From that census of 1890. I am familiar with that. But why do you not write into this bill that it is subject to the quota law—

Mr. MASON. That can be done yet, sir.

Mr. WILMETH. It should be done.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a good suggestion; very constructive suggestion.

Mr. WILMETH. Now, nobody could complain of 107 people coming in here in a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we are getting something.

Mr. MASON. Now we agree entirely.

Mr. WILMETH. But, gentlemen, if this is to be an entering wedge by which you are going to flood this country with cheap labor and threaten our people with that ruinous competition, then I am against the whole thing.

Mr. MASON. Then you preface that with "if."

Mr. WILMETH. Sure, I did. That is what we are afraid of.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Wilmeth, do you actually believe that this will be limited to 100 or so? In other words, do you not know that this is simply the camel getting his nose under the tent?

Mr. WILMETH. I think, sir, it would be a farce, a legislative farce, to confine it to 107.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Wilmeth, I might say to you that the Chinese do not feel that way about it.

Mr. WILMETH. Well, they are willing to accept mighty small favors, sir.

Mr. MASON. May I ask you, sir, if you belonged to a race that had been excluded by law, by name, and all other orientals had been excluded by a gentleman's agreement without naming them, would you not feel that you would be lifting perhaps the disgrace of being named in an exclusion law for only one class and that we would do quite a favor by blessing you, you might say, taking that stigma away?

Mr. WILMETH. Perhaps so.

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. WILMETH. Perhaps so.

Mr. MASON. Now, I want to ask you just one more question. With your organization that you represent—and I know something about it because I have even spoken before it—

Mr. WILMETH. Yes, sir. We invited you, sir.

Mr. MASON. Would your organization be willing to say, "Why, we would not mind 107 or so Chinese coming in if that was not meaning that the camel's nose was placed under the tent, if you agree to shut out 26,999 Germans out of the quota, 27,000 for the German people?" That is, would you exchange 107 Chinese for 27,000 Germans?

Mr. WILMETH. Well, I would not want to trade in neither variety, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wilmeth, is it not a fact that you and your organization do not want to do anything to increase the immigration quotas from any country? Is that not true?

Mr. WILMETH. Yes. And in that connection let me state that the treaty with China, the preamble to it—it is just brief—two or three lines—the preamble to the treaty recited that constantly increasing immigration of Chinese laborers to the territory of the United States was embarrassing.

It was embarrassing.

Captain Trevor has told you how it was embarrassing, in part, the method of living, organizations, political and otherwise, that they established here in this country.

But it went further than that. It was embarrassing in the destructive competition of these people, the low wages. Our American people could not compete with it.

If they could not then, sir, in answer to your question, how could they do it now? It applies with the same force. It was embarrassing then, it would be embarrassing now.

The CHAIRMAN. If we could take the embarrassment out, would that be satisfactory?

Mr. WILMETH. I do not see how you could do it without changing the social and economic set-up.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have been told, I cannot vouch for this, that at present some 8,000 or 9,000 Chinese have come into this country, smuggled in, each year; that countries that have quotas were not troubled by smuggling.

Under the proposed bill 107 would come in per year. It is probable, so I have been told, that we would actually receive fewer Chinese under the proposed bill than we are now getting.

Have you thought about that angle of it?

Mr. WILMETH. Well, I have read the reports of the Attorney General since he has been admitted during the affairs of immigration and naturalization and that recites definitely the number of Chinese who have been apprehended who have been smuggled in or entered illegally.

Of course any entry now of the Chinese for permanent residence is illegal under the Chinese exclusion law.

I presume that the number who are giving us trouble, who are coming across the border, some of them from Mexico, may be rolling up their britches and wading the Rio Grande—

Mr. GOSSETT. If this were a matter of competition with American labor I would agree with you a thousand percent, but has your organization further considered the international aspect of this, the effect on our present war efforts, and the effect on our possible future development of trade with China?

Have they looked on it from the standpoint of world politics, so to speak?

Mr. WILMETH. We have tried to look at it in a broad way and our conclusions are that at the present time when China is an ally of the United States through circumstances of war and through the circumstances of war with Japan—she was not an ally of ours until Pearl Harbor, and there is no discounting that fact—we have felt that with what we are doing for China now and what we have done in the past—we have always had a steady constant continuing interest in China going back to the Boxer Rebellion days when we have stood right at the gateway of dismemberment and said, "Thus far and no further as a territory," we feel that we have been doing a good part by China, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; and China has been doing a great part for us because she has been our ally for 20 or 30 years, because Japan was an enemy to the United States for a long, long time, in spite of the fact that we did not actually declare war.

Mr. WILMETH. Well, not a war ally, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but we have had an enemy over there and I would say at least someone to depend upon, China, whom we could well consider our friend. Is that not so?

Mr. WILMETH. Why should China not be a friend of ours? We have stood for the open door there right along.

The CHAIRMAN. What open door are you talking about?

Mr. WILMETH. I am not talking about the open door of this side to let them come in, but the open door for trade.

Mr. ELMER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ELMER. In other words, Mr. Wilmeth, you believe the agreement should be all one way, the open door in China and not the open door here?

Mr. WILMETH. I do not think that goes so far as to affect our position in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have made a fair statement.

Mr. WILMETH. I ask for permission to submit this brief statement as part of my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the brief statement will be incorporated in the record at the point you want it.

Mr. WILMETH. Right at the close, please.

May I introduce these two ladies here from the Daughters of America, not to speak but just to tell you what they feel about it?

Mrs. NAOMI SWANN. We substantiate all that Mr. Wilmeth says.

The CHAIRMAN. We will make a note of that.

(The statement submitted by Mr. Wilmeth is as follows:)

STATEMENT ON CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS BY JAMES L. WILMETH, NATIONAL SECRETARY, JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS

Asiatic immigration brought a new problem from immigration conditions of earlier generations. Immigration had been very largely confined to the Eastern States, and to these States where the Government offered public lands to settlers. The first immigration which came to the western part of the United States was, largely, Chinese. The Japanese began to appear in that section of the country following the close of the Civil War. The first reaction of the western people to immigrants of the yellow race was favorable. The Japanese who came first were students and scholars, who were anxious to learn about western civilization. There was, naturally, a welcome hand extended to the Japanese, because of the opening up of the hermit empire in 1856, under American influence. In the course of time, immigrants from the yellow race increased tremendously, and they were mostly of the coolie class, classified as "Chinese laborers."

The eastern part of the United States was able to absorb and amalgamate large numbers of European immigrants, because they came from the same kind of parents or ancestors as we did. These European peoples readily amalgamated; and, in the great melting pot, they soon became an important part and parcel of the American people. It was soon found that the Asiatics, or yellow race, were so different in racial qualities, habits, and customs that it was practically impossible to make American citizens out of them.

As has been said, "This was the beginning of our Asiatic problem." While there were then many political and economic leaders who wanted to welcome all immigrants, as they had done before, there were others who argued that the yellow race would always remain aliens among us, "undigested," an obstacle to our Government and to our social organization. We have the Negro problem, which had been with us from almost the beginning of the first settlement of Jamestown, Va. The colored problem we could not evade. To the majority, it seemed that it would be utter folly for the American people to accept wholesale Chinese laborer immigration, thus creating the yellow race problem, which would be equally difficult.

Again, it was soon ascertained that there was a danger in Asiatic immigration, which was quickly seen by organized labor. It was that these oriental people had been brought up in a civilization with much lower standards of living than we were accustomed to here in America, willing to work long hours for small pay. Their method of living, and the cheap foods which they consumed, put them in position so that they could afford to work for prices at which the average American citizen would starve.

To compete with vast hordes of Chinese laborer immigration would have a strong tendency to lower our citizenship to the oriental way of living. Then these conditions became imminent and alarming, there was a great hue and cry from the Pacific States to curb Chinese labor immigration. So vigorous was this fight carried on by the people in our Western States that in the course of time the people of the Nation adopted their viewpoint, and supported their contention by the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law, approved May 6, 1882 (22 Stat. L. 58), which suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States for a period of 10 years, and provided penalties for violation of the act.

This exclusion law was based upon the treaty between the United States and China, concerning immigration (22 Stat. L. 826), concluded and signed November 17, 1880; ratification advised by Senate May 5, 1881; ratified by the President May 9, 1881; ratifications exchanged July 19, 1881; proclaimed by the President of the United States October 5, 1881.

The act of July 5, 1884 (23 Stat. L. 115), styled "An act to amend the act of May 6, 1882," continued the suspension of Chinese laborers for 10 years and prescribed penalties for violation; laid heavy responsibilities upon masters of

vessels against bringing Chinese into the United States illegally. This act contained many of the provisions of the former act, such as keeping a list, identification of Chinese who were entitled to remain in the United States; prevented Chinese from entering into United States by land; and imposed the same restrictions as required of Chinese persons seeking to land from a vessel. Authorized the removal of any Chinese persons found unlawfully in the United States to the country whence he came, after being brought before some justice or judge or commission, and found to be illegally in the United States.

The act of September 13, 1888 (25 Stat. 476), was an act to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States. It permitted Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for pleasure to enter the United States, provided they obtained the permission of the Chinese Government, under proper certification. This act, like the previous one, applied to all persons of Chinese race, whether subjects of China, or any other foreign power, excepting Chinese diplomatic or consular officers, and their attendants. The words "Chinese laborers" mean both skilled and unskilled laborers, and Chinese employed in mining. Prohibited Chinese that had been in the United States as laborers, returning here, after having left the United States, with certain exceptions. Required returning Chinese to reenter at the port from which he had departed, with certain exceptions. Called for arrest of Chinese laborers unlawfully in the United States, and their trial; also provided for appeals, and provided penalties for persons aiding or abetting Chinese laborers.

An act, approved May 5, 1892 (27 Stat. L. 25), extended Chinese exclusion for a period of 10 years; provided for the removal of Chinese illegally in the United States; called for the securing of certificates of eligibility to remain in the United States.

Act approved November 3, 1893 (28 Stat. L. 7), amended the act of May 5, 1892; required Chinese laborers to obtain certificate of residence within 6 months after the passage of this act. Provided for trial of those unlawfully within the United States; defined "laborers" to be both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including Chinese employed in mining, fishing, huckstering, laundering, peddling; those engaged in packing, drying preserved shellfish or other fish, for home consumption or exportation.

Act approved July 7, 1898 (30 Stat. L. 750-1), being a joint resolution, to provide for annexing of Hawaiian Islands to the United States. It contained the following:

"There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands; except upon such conditions as are now, or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States. No Chinese, by reason of anything herein contained, shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands."

Appropriation Act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. L. 588-611), for the Treasury Department, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, and for other purposes, carried an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, to prevent the unlawful entry of Chinese into the United States by the appointment of suitable officers to enforce the laws in relation thereto, etc.

An act, approved April 29, 1902 (32 Stat. L. pt. 1-176), was an act, which, by its express terms, stated that all laws in force prescribing and regulating the coming of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent into the United States, and the residence of such persons therein, including sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14 of the act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States, approved September 13, 1888, be, and the same are hereby, reenacted, extended, and continued, so far as the same are consistent with treaty obligations, until otherwise provided by law."

Act approved April 27, 1904 (33 Stat. L. 394-42): This act amended an act of Congress, approved April 29, 1902, being an act prohibiting the coming into, and to regulate residence within the United States and its Territories, of all persons of Chinese descent. This continued the provisions of the previous act in the following words, "The same are hereby reenacted, extended, continued without modification, limitation, or condition; the said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States."

Appropriation Act, August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 417, 476), for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, contained an item, under the Immigration Service, for preventing the unlawful entry of Chinese into the United States by appointment of suitable officers to enforce the laws in relation thereto, and the expense of returning to China all Chinese persons found to be unlawfully in the United States, including the cost of imprisonment and actual expense of conveyance of Chinese persons to the frontier or seaport for deportation.

A similar provision appears under the Appropriation Act June 23, 1913 (38 Stat. L. 4, 65), for the Treasury Department, Immigration Service, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

The Japanese fared better than the Chinese, because Japanese immigration was not excluded until 1924. It is generally conceded that the Chinese people are more peaceable and less warlike than the Japanese. It is a well-known fact that Japanese aliens in this country prospered under the new liberties and freedoms which they enjoyed in the United States. Nevertheless, they were never accepted with welcome, and especially by citizens of California, where, as early as 1915, a law was passed by the legislature of that State forbidding them to purchase and own land. It was, however, not very difficult for them to evade the main purposes of the anti-land-owning laws. Under the seventeenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States the child or children of any alien born here in the United States is a full-fledged American citizen. Through a system of trusteeship, land could be and was purchased and held in trust for these young American citizen infants born of Japanese parents. In this connection it may not be amiss to say that a system of dual citizenship has flourished among the Japanese people on the west coast of our country, from the fact that they are American citizens when born here, while, under the laws of the Empire of Japan, they still remain citizens of that country.

Shortly after the unwarranted, dastardly, treacherous attack at Pearl Harbor by the warlords of the Japanese Empire on the United States, which plunged us into war with Japan, approximately 130,000 Japanese who lived in the western part of the country, were moved inland under Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War. This was done in the interest of public safety. It is estimated that fully half, if not more, of these Japanese people so moved were citizens of the United States, by reason of having been born here in this country of alien, unnaturalizable Japanese parents. Notwithstanding these salient facts, the Government did not shirk its duty in causing these people to be moved inland at tremendous expense and with continuing expense for their maintenance and support.

We are finding no fault with our Government for handling this yellow-race problem so quickly and so expeditiously. As a matter of fact, at or about the time the Executive order was issued by the President of the United States, to move the Japanese people inland for the safety of America and its citizens, a bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States authorizing doing the very thing which the President carried out by Executive order.

It is unfortunate that the Japanese were not excluded with the Chinese, as both classes are of the yellow race, and are unassimilable. Probably the reason why such an act of exclusion against the Japanese was not passed was because of the small number here at that time, and of the rather high type of Japanese people who first came to our shores. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Japanese people are as unassimilable as are the Chinese, and are unsuitable to become American citizens.

Years ago, we heard of the "yellow peril," which subsided following the exclusion laws of both the Chinese and Japanese.

Bills have been introduced in the Congress to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws. We submit that there is just as much reason today for people of the yellow race to be prohibited from coming into this country as immigrants as there was in 1882, when the first Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, and in 1924, when Japanese immigration was stopped. If there are any extenuating circumstances today, it is that China is an ally of the United States in the war against Japan. With the Chinese this is a case of one branch of the yellow race being at war with another branch of the same race. We submit that the fact of the United States being allied with China in this war affords no sound reason or excuse to repeal the exclusion laws, which kept Chinese hordes out of this country. These exclusion laws gave valued support and protection to American labor. We submit that it would be ruinous to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws. It would bring back the same situation which existed 60 years ago on the west coast, when the people demanded relief from cheap Chinese labor, which was so disastrous in its competition with our American working people. The Chinese laborers' standards of living, the long hours they are willing to work, and the low wages they are willing to receive would bring disaster and ruin to our working people. Such competition could not be endured. It would be just as bad now as it was then.

Some argue that, in addition to being an ally of China at the present time, the recent good-will tour of the wife of the general of the Chinese Republic has opened up new fields of thought, and new avenues of sentiment, which should cause us as a people to throw open our doors to Chinese people, and extend our arms to receive them. We can scarcely conceive of a more deceptive line of argument.

The same fundamentals apply to the Chinese people today as did 60 years ago. We submit that this fair and accomplished woman, who was accorded the high privilege of addressing both Houses of Congress, and who merits our respect and admiration, is not a fair representative of the rank and file of the Chinese laboring people.

The American people are doing their full share, and making wonderful sacrifices, to feed and clothe the people of Europe and of China, and to assist them in winning the war and in getting back into their normal way of life. Notwithstanding our help and our sympathy for these allies, both in Europe and in China, we should not break down immigration barriers, and permit people to come here by the millions, to the detriment of our own domestic economy, which will be subjected to a terrific strain as soon as this war is over and the millions of American men and women who are now fighting on the far-flung battle lines of the world, come back home, seeking places to work.

We submit that the manpower and womenpower shortage in this Republic today, has not reached the acute stage where we need to let people come in such numbers as they choose, to work in jobs which, to say the least, will be temporary, and which will be required by our returning soldiers.

We admitted more than 38,000,000 of people here in 20 years, following 1820. These people were needed at that time, to help develop the country. That need does not exist today, as it did then, when we had some of the choicest stock of immigrants from all countries of Europe.

Under existing quotas, 150,000 is the limit of people who can come to our shores in any one year. These are divided among the nations of the earth, based upon a percentage of the 1890 census. The basis of immigration restriction today is on a better-regulated and more scientific basis than it has ever been before in the history of our country. That restriction of immigration is drastic cannot be denied. It should be. The protection of our American working people demands restrictive laws rigidly enforced. We submit that immigration restriction is now a fixed policy, which has the support of an overwhelming majority of the American people. This is as it should be. It must not be destroyed nor scrapped.

H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, introduced into Congress recently, for the repeal of Chinese exclusion laws, should be defeated. It would be ruinous to our domestic economy to pass these two bills; it would subject American labor to competition which would be blighting and disastrous; it would renew a stream of yellow people, unfitted and unsuited for American citizenship, and would foist upon us a race problem that, in the end, would probably give us more serious trouble than we have experienced from the Japanese, whom we now have interned, and under military control, in order to secure the safety of our people and our country.

The preamble to the treaty hereinbefore referred to recited that constantly increasing immigration of Chinese laborers to the territory of the United States was embarrassing, in article 1 of said treaty, reference is made that if the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein affects or threatens to affect the interest of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or any locality or territory thereof, then, in that event, the immigration of Chinese laborers may be regulated, limited, or suspended.

Pursuant to these treaty provisions, the United States did, through the Congress, take action to exclude, regulate, and limit Chinese immigration, because of the embarrassment consequent thereto; that such immigration seriously affected the best interest of the United States. We have no token or reason now why this very same condition would not occur again, if the Chinese exclusion laws were repealed, as proposed in H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429.

We are of the opinion that if the Chinese exclusion laws were repealed, the same situation would soon follow, as the conditions which made it necessary, in the opinion of Congress, to exclude the Chinese people from coming into the country. The experiment of Chinese immigration, which was indulged in for so many years, was most unsatisfactory. We submit that the same conditions would follow, if these Chinese exclusion laws should be repealed.

The National Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, through its national board of officers, councils, and members, is of the opinion that the best interest of the people of the United States will be served by continuing the treaty with China, concerning immigration, in full force and effect, and the laws made in pursuance thereof to be not repealed.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN B. TREVOR OF THE AMERICAN COALITION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Mr. TREVOR. John B. Trevor, American Coalition, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MASON. I did not learn who this gentleman represents.

Mr. TREVOR. I represent the American Coalition, which is an association of delegates representing about 100 patriotic societies.

Mr. Chairman, I thought we were appearing in opposition to several bills, but I understand that the committee is confining itself to H. R. 1882 because that comprehends the whole picture and would place the Chinese on the quota if adopted.

Now, I think it is a very deplorable thing that any question of this kind should be agitated during a time of war.

It raises a great many questions which may mean nothing to you or me, or the gentlemen who are members of this committee, but we had a very serious situation in this country until the Chinese exclusion acts were passed.

They were passed finally by Congress because it was the only way in which a perfectly deplorable chapter of American history of violence, riots, and murders was brought to a close.

The culmination of those race riots was at Rock Springs, Wyo., in 1882. Shortly after the passage of those acts, this disgraceful chapter of murder, violence, race prejudice, and rioting was brought to a close.

Now, it is our contention that the passage of this legislation would reopen this whole matter.

Personally, I have Chinese friends; I admire greatly their art; in fact I, for many years, have collected Chinese art. It is a hobby of mine.

And I have been a student of Chinese culture for many, many years, and also the political situations which have arisen in those regions; and it is with great reluctance that I have to say some of the things I think should be said in view of the fact that the committee has seen fit at this time to open a very controversial question.

I think it tends to impair the unity that we should all have in the prosecution of the war, and if the war is brought to a successful conclusion against Japan, the old question of discrimination will be raised. In order to be consistent, you will have to put the Japanese on a quota, and, contrary to the belief in respect to the Chinese that only about 107 people would come in, if they are put upon the quota, they would really, under the existing quota law, come in in many thousands under the British quota. This applies to Hong Kong and to the Chinese residents of the colonial possessions of Great Britain where the Chinese have been admitted.

I say this whole thing goes to the whole question of the exclusion of orientals.

Now, it has been the policy of the British Dominions, as you gentlemen doubtless know—I think I heard the question asked here yesterday—it has been the policy of New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa to exclude all persons who are regarded as not assimilable.

That goes to the whole question of subjects from the British Empire, so we are not only opening a very controversial matter, but

we are going contrary to the policy that has been pursued by the British Dominions in regard to the control of their immigration.

I have here with me, if you care to have it for the record, a brief summary which was taken from the Indian Yearbook and Who's Who, 1941 and 1942, published by the Times of India, Bombay, which gives some details. If you care to have it incorporated in the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you want to add it to your remarks.

Mr. TREVOR. It merely corroborates the statements I may make.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is fully aware of that. We have had executive sessions going over all of those matters, but if you want it in—

Mr. TREVOR. I do not think I need to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been in executive session and gone over this whole matter.

Mr. TREVOR. Now, in connection with the history of this problem I think it is perfectly deplorable that this matter should ever be aired on the floor of Congress, I am going to quote from the debate which took place in the Senate in 1879, where Senator Sargent quoted from the writings of a distinguished American writer, Bayard Taylor.

The quotation is this:

It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are, morally, the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice which in other countries are barely named are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives—

The CHAIRMAN. Whom are you quoting now?

Mr. TREVOR. I am quoting Senator Sargent from the writings of Bayard Taylor which was inserted in the record when this was before the Senate in 1879, and I am merely bringing this to the attention of the committee because I think all these matters are going to be discussed, I think it is perfectly deplorable they are going to be agitated, and if the committee in its wisdom is doing these things, I think it ought to have the facts.

Mr. MASON. Do you consider that those are the facts?

Mr. TREVOR. I say these are facts which will be presented by a great many people who are opposed to these Chinese bills.

I do not know whether you have ever been in the Orient or not. I have. I was out there in the southern part of Asia a good many months, living among Orientals of all classes.

As I say, there are very distinguished members of the Chinese race whom I admire and we all admire, but there are 458,000,000 Chinese—the latest estimate of their population. There are something like 352,000,000 people in the British Indian Empire—with those people I am familiar from personal knowledge, and in regard to the Chinese themselves, I may say that I was on my way to China when I was turned back and never got beyond the borders of southern China. I have read extensively of the literature about China. I think if you gentlemen want to get a picture of social conditions and social life of the modern Chinese, I suggest that you subpoena some copies of Madam Koo's book which has been recently suppressed—and from the standpoint of putting this legislation across, I think it was wisely suppressed—but it is a very interesting book, and I suggest if you can get a copy of it you read it. I enjoyed it immensely.

I will go on with what Senator Sargent quoted about what Bayard Taylor said.

They constitute a surface level, and below them are deeps and deeps of depravity so shocking and horrible that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind; but there was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing, which are brought almost daily to the notice of every foreign resident, to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. Their touch is pollution and, harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil. Science may have lost something, but mankind has gained by the exclusive policy which has governed China during the past century.

Now, the joint congressional committee which was appointed to investigate the Chinese question in 1776 had this to say about the colony of Chinese in San Francisco, Calif.:

They live in filthy dwellings, upon poor food crowded together in narrow quarters, disregarding health and fire ordinances, and their vices are corrupting to the morals of the city, especially of the young.

The Chinese have a quasi government among themselves, independent of our laws, authorizing the punishment of offenders against Chinese customs, even to the taking of life. Violent hostilities exist between Chinamen from different parts of China to the disturbance of the public peace. Large numbers of them, notwithstanding the difficulty of conviction owing to the looseness of the Chinese oath, occupy the State's prison and jails.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that long, Mr. Trevor?

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir, but I just wanted to say that. I wanted to give a build-up of this picture. I regret the necessity for saying it, but the committee has to have the information.

Mr. MASON. He made a mistake. There was no Chinese question in 1776. He meant 1876, I have no doubt.

Mr. TREVOR. 1876. But now, Mr. Chairman, what I want to do—

Mr. MASON. I am correcting it from the standpoint of a historian.

Mr. TREVOR. It was a slip of the tongue, if I said 1776.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I have it, 1776, but 1876 is a few years back.

Mr. TREVOR. A few years back. But I want to read from the report of the San Francisco Housing Authority of 1941. That is right down to date.

Expansion in Chinatown is limited. Fifteen thousand Chinese live in an area 4 blocks by 5 blocks, which is dedicated not primarily to residence but to shops, restaurants, and institutions. Reports of the inconveivable conditions under which the Chinese maintain themselves are not exaggerated. Of the 3,830 dwelling units in Chinatown approximately 3,000 are totally without heating equipment. In all Chinatown there are only 447 homes acceptable by the survey standards, and all of them are in a high rental bracket. Buildings constructed after the fire to house single men on a bare existence basis—that is, containing tiny windowless rooms with hall toilets and kitchens and often no bath facilities anywhere—now house families in these same accommodations, sometimes as many as 10 to a room.

Now, I do not want to go any further than that, but it shows an absolute continuity of social conditions, and I do not blame the Chinese for it at all, but the Chinese have been living on a scale that is so far below anything that our people can live on or will live on—

The CHAIRMAN. Whose fault is that?

Mr. TREVOR. That is due to the congestion of population in China. They came over here, habituated themselves to those conditions, and

then they would proceed to compete with American labor on American standards.

Now, as I said before, I think that the idea of only 107 people are going to come in here if this bill is passed is wholly erroneous.

They would come in under the British quota in thousands—

Mr. MASON. You mean the quota that is assigned to the British would be turned over by Britain to its Chinese citizens so that they would have the full advantage of the British quota, or do you suppose the British Government would say, "I guess maybe we had better keep at least 95 percent of our quota for ourselves, and maybe allow some Chinese British subjects to come in"?

Mr. TREVOR. The experience of the past since the act of 1924 was passed is that the British do not by any means fill their quota with British subjects born in Britain, and there is no reason to suppose if they regain possession of Hong Kong they would not permit 40,000 Chinese or more a year to come in under their quota. They are British subjects. Why not?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Trevor, I am not speaking for the committee, I am just trying to get information.

Assuming this committee, after its deliberation, would safeguard the quota by just fixing a quota of 107 under the 1890 census, no matter where they come from, as part of an independent quota for China, no matter where they come from, would that satisfy your point?

Mr. TREVOR. I do not think it would meet the situation, because once you legalize the entry of Chinese—as a matter of fact, and you know, Mr. Chairman, you have heard the testimony for the last 20 years that I have been before this committee, you know very well the moment you legalize the entry of Chinese into this country, you will promote the smuggling of Chinese into this country.

The CHAIRMAN. I think just the reverse, Mr. Trevor, much as I dislike to take issue with you.

If you fix a quota, you will have no smuggling at all. It is unfortunate that you and I have to make that statement, but you and I know there has been smuggling into this country not only by the Chinese but by other races.

Mr. TREVOR. That is true. Just after the act was passed—and this is a quotation from the Secretary of Labor for 1922—

It was also ascertained that there are in the neighborhood of 30,000 young Chinese coolie laborers now in Cuba, most of them without employment and without prospects of obtaining employment. In fact, they seem to have gone to Cuba with no purpose of either seeking or following employment, or with any object in view other than that of gaining surreptitious entry to the United States in any way possible. These Chinese pay anywhere from \$500 to \$1,000 for the privilege of being smuggled into this country, and the smuggling craft take them to inaccessible points on the Atlantic or Gulf coasts, as far north as New York and as far west as New Orleans. The difficulties inherent in any endeavor to cope with this apparently well organized and extensive smuggling scheme with the pitifully few officers at the disposal of the Immigration Service is readily apparent.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, if we did not have a quota, would that smuggling be stopped?

Mr. TREVOR. Well, the situation, as I understand it, since we have so tightened the restrictive regulation, is that it is much more difficult for these people to get in now than ever before—but once you legalize

Chinese under the quota, you are going to increase the difficulty of the enforcement of the immigration law to an untold extent.

Mr. Chairman, with due respect to your opinion, that is my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. With all due respect to you, I do not get your philosophy at all. I think it is just the reverse. You can stop smuggling.

If people want to commit crime, they will do it, law or no law, because they are desperate. At least at times there is some justification for even a smuggler, but when you give a man a certain quota and he knows he can come in legally, I think you are going to cut out a lot of that smuggling; and I agree with you there was smuggling.

Mr. TREVOR. What would 107 mean to 30,000?

The CHAIRMAN. The point is they are given the right like every other country. We are not concerned about that.

You have Mexicans. I know Britishers have been smuggled in, and yet they have plenty of quota. And you go right down to all nationalities. Do not just throw the whole dirt on the Chinese people. There are a lot of good people.

Mr. TREVOR. Well, Mr. Chairman, our organization has always advocated the practical suspension of all immigration into the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that.

Mr. TREVOR. I think it is not, after all, a question of discrimination as to the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. Finish up your address.

Mr. TREVOR. As I say, this will reopen the whole question of oriental immigration.

Now, if some of the people who, in my opinion, are carrying on a most unfortunate campaign for the disruption of the British Empire here succeed in their propaganda, you will have a quota that will stagger you, because India has within its borders a multitude of semi-independent states, states who have only surrendered their foreign relations to the British regime.

Now, if the British evacuate India attempts will be made by some of these independent states to be recognized, and they will be entitled to the minimum quota of 100.

Now, of those native states there are something over a hundred whose sovereigns are given the courtesy of a salute by the British Government. They are practically independent except for the conduct of their foreign affairs.

If they were given the minimum quota, you would add 10,200.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me this testimony is based too much on supposings, the supposition that Britain is going to give up India after this war, which is a pretty far-fetched supposition.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, have we not had too much supposition all the way through?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. I agree with you there, too. Let us confine ourselves to the question before us. We are not men sitting here predicting what will happen 50 years from now.

As far as Japan is concerned, I will not be concerned with Japan as long as I live, and I am sure that is true of others.

Mr. TREVOR. Well, if I recall correctly, Mr. Chairman, there have been some very strong differences of opinion in regard to some of these questions of immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we are trying to find out.

Mr. TREVOR. And the question of discrimination between races was agitated on the floor of the Congress very bitterly. Now, what you are proposing to do is to pick out and favor the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. TREVOR. If the Chinese are favored, why not give it to all the orientals?

The CHAIRMAN. We are considering the Chinese question because of facts which have been presented to us, both in executive and other sessions, and at public hearings.

Mr. KEARNEY. I want to ask the gentlemen if they are going to give it to the Japanese also.

Mr. TREVOR. I am opposed to all these people, and, as a matter of fact, Congressmen, probably you are not aware, but the previous chairman of this committee, Albert Johnson, had me write for this committee a pamphlet which is called Japanese Exclusion, and that was published by the House of Representatives as a House document in 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a committee of Johnson, Johnson, and Johnson.

Mr. KEARNEY. It sounds like a law firm.

Mr. TREVOR. Well, as a matter of fact, I was asked to do it for this committee by the chairman, and it is a public document, and it covers the whole Japanese question. And I would come here again to protest against the Japanese being admitted to this country. I think they never should have been.

The gentlemen's agreement was a perfect farce; it never served its purpose. It died with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 by which all orientals were placed on the same basis without any discrimination against any single race.

Now, you are going to begin the question of discrimination when you say now, "We want the Chinese."

We do not know what is going to happen in China.

I do not want to unduly presume on the time of the committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. For a nation that is in a state of chaos, they seem to be doing a pretty good job in this war; do they not?

Mr. TREVOR. I think they have done an extraordinary job in fighting Japan, and I think we should help them in every possible way to carry on the war against Japan; but when you talk about any unity in China, there is only one unity, and that is the common cause of enmity of Japan.

You have just got to read this book I spoke of to get the picture of conditions. The rivalry between war lords will break out again and there will be a contest for supremacy in China just as it was before the attack by the Japanese.

It was the Japanese attack which unified China against the common enemy, but aside from that, China is really eternally in a chaotic condition.

It is made up, you might call it, of various factions. There is the faction of General Chiang Kai-shek and the followers of that Christian gentleman, the Communists, and the various other factions behind innumerable other lesser war lords.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one question, if I may. Mr. Allen wants to ask you a few questions.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that this gesture, as you call it, giving China recognition, would unite the Chinese behind this war effort and would destroy the elements of communism or fascism in China, and would prevent the Japanese from dividing China, would you say then you would not recognize them?

Mr. TREVOR. Those are a lot of assumptions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have been making a lot of assumptions and you have got me into the habit.

Mr. TREVOR. I was just calling your attention to those things.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. All right.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Trevor, I was interested in the reference you made to the practice of the Chinese in this country of trying to keep up their own customs and live by their own oriental customs, even to the extent of enforcing their own oriental beliefs here in the form of law, shall we say. That really obtains, does it?

Mr. TREVOR. Well, I just read you from the official report of the San Francisco Housing Authority as to what the condition is there, and that speaks for itself.

We have had the tong wars in New York City, and the chairman knows that.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, the Chinese, when they come here, do not amalgamate with America, and they remain to themselves and live by their own code of ethics?

Mr. TREVOR. Well, Congressman, I think one of the most pathetic things that I noticed when I was out in the East was where the races were brought together and there resulted a class of people commonly called out there Eurasians.

Most of these people were outcasts by their own people and they were outcasts from the white people in those countries.

I knew some of them. I had one of them in my employ for a while, and his story was one of the most tragic things I have ever listened to. I think possibly the development of this class of people out there has been very largely responsible, particularly in Burma, for some of the troubles the British have had there. And, strange to say, there was a Chinese problem in Burma when I was there in 1907. The gradual infiltration of Chinese in there was causing quite a serious problem, and, if you may remember, when General Chiang Kai-shek offered 50 divisions to the British when the Japanese landed in what was formerly known as Siam, the British refused the offer of those Chinese troops.

I think it was a most deplorable mistake. Fifty divisions thrown into the war at that time might have saved British Malaya.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one time I agree with you.

Mr. TREVOR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Trevor, you have mentioned about the fact that India was made up of a number of semi-independent states and there was a possibility, at least, of each one of those states, in the event we break down the oriental barriers in our immigration laws—of each one of those states desiring to come in here and get a quota and send their people here.

Mr. TREVOR. It is perfectly obvious they would expect to have a quota if they are recognized as independent states.

As a matter of fact, we have now assigned quotas amounting to 2,249—well, the admission are 2,249 people if you include the minimum quotas that are assigned to all these Asiatic states, provided they were eligible for entry.

Now, if you made the same amendment to the law that would apply to them, you would certainly get well over two thousand people in who now do not come in.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Trevor, if we break down the immigration barriers as these bills propose to do, what would be status of Manchukuo, which is handled and controlled body and soul by Japan, and the Chinese?

In other words, if we say to the Chinese, "Come on in," what would happen to the people who live in Manchukuo?

Mr. TREVOR. Well, as a matter of fact, you know the Chinese do not regard the Manchu as really the same race. Ethnologically, they are quite distinct, one is a very large man, the other small; and the Manchus were a race that conquered China and controlled it for a time up to the time of the Boxer Rebellion.

Now, I think there is a bill in the Senate for the recognition of Korea now.

Well, now, Korea would have to have a quota as well as China; Manchukuo would have to have a quota.

Outer Mongolia is now a Soviet republic which is recognized and dominated by the Soviet regime.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Trevor, the contention is made that we could let down the barriers as to China and presumably stop there.

I want to ask you, from your broad experience and travels and education and reading, what do you think would be the attitude of other orientals, 400,000,000 Hindus, the Koreans, and all other Asiatics, if we should give China alone that privilege? What would be the attitude of all the other millions of Asiatics?

Mr. TREVOR. Well, you have the best evidence by special bills that are coming before you all the time for the legalization of some of them for entry into this country.

Naturally, they want to come in. You take in China in the Province of Kiangsu, the latest estimate of population runs to a density of about 878 to the square mile.

You cannot blame them for wanting to come here for we have only 42 per square mile.

The CHAIRMAN. I could put 107 of them into my back yard. They would not annoy me.

Mr. ALLEN. I would not want 107 of anybody in my back yard all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Trevor. Your paper will be included in the record.

(The paper submitted by Mr. Trevor follows.)

CHINESE IMMIGRATION

The public has been grossly misled as to the effect upon immigration into the United States should H. R. 1882, a bill to grant to the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights to citizenship, be passed.

It is alleged by persons who desire to have China granted a quota status that only 107 persons of the Chinese race would enter the United States annually.

This contention is contrary to the facts.

Under the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924, if, and when, the British reestablish their sovereignty over Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and other British possessions now occupied by the Japanese, there is a possibility that the

annual immigration of British subjects of the Chinese race from those regions may, and probably would, reach a total of 60,000. The reason for this possibility lies in the fact that since 1933 the maximum number of visas charged against the British quota of 65,721, in any one year, was 4,360, and the average number charged was only 2,647.

To put the matter in another way, the number of visas charged against the British quota in the fiscal years 1933 to 1942 totaled 26,476. During that period of 10 years, the total number of visas which were available to the British, in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924, totaled 657,210, which leaves an unused balance of 630,734. It is this balance which, had H. R. 1882 been the law of the land, that might have been filled by Chinese immigrants from British possessions.

It must be obvious from the facts set forth above that any amendment to the Immigration Act of 1924, which would adequately protect the United States from an influx of Chinese immigrants in succeeding years, would have to be on a basis which would defeat the very end for which the bills now before Congress were introduced; that is to say, the amendment to be effective would have to be of such a nature that it would perpetuate the charge of special discrimination against the Chinese, as a race.

Such an amendment, if determined upon, would be infinitely more objectionable than the existing general provisions of law which excluded all Orientals from any invidious distinction between the races which inhabit the continent of Asia and adjacent islands of the South Seas.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Everybody will have to excuse us.

We stand adjourned until next Wednesday at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the committee adjourned until Wednesday, May 26, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make the following statement for the record:

In view of the testimony of Mr. Shaughnessy, Deputy Immigration Commissioner, who is the adviser of the committee as to the legal effects of legislation, I wish to state that I interpose no objection to reporting out the two bills, H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, introduced here by the chairman of this committee to repeal the so-called Chinese Exclusion Acts.

I make this statement in view of the effects of such legislation as outlined by Mr. Shaughnessy.

I further wish to state at this time that I shall, at the proper time, offer amendments to bills under consideration to suspend all quota immigration—with certain reservations—for a period of 10 years.

In the event that those amendments should not prevail, it is my purpose to offer an amendment to exclude all quota immigration in like manner from the countries now at war against the United States.

I will determine later which amendment to offer first.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the point, as I take it, then, is that the Chair does not know whether any of these bills will come out. The bill may have to be rewritten and a committee bill be sent out.

My idea is to get the bill before the House, and give the House an opportunity to discuss this legislation.

Naturally I assume my colleague is saying he makes a reservation if the bill is reported out, to offer such amendments.

Mr. ALLEN. In committee.

The CHAIRMAN. In committee.

Mr. ALLEN. And probably on the floor, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, the question—

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that there is no need to make a reservation to make amendments, because any member of this committee has that privilege at any time before the bill is voted out, and also has the privilege of doing that on the floor.

Mr. ALLEN. That is right, but I am giving notice of my intention.

Mr. MASON. So that is an unnecessary reservation to make, it seems to me, in view of the rules of both this committee and the House.

Concerning the bills that he indicated that he would not have any objection to, those bills have been withdrawn with the consent of this committee by the chairman of this committee; and therefore they are not even under consideration.

Mr. ALLEN. I wish to correct the statement of the gentleman from Illinois and I refer him to the Congressional Record for yesterday which states that hearings would be held on certain bills, and names those two bills.

Mr. MASON. Well, the Congressional Record is wrong because the Chairman withdrew those bills at our last meeting and the record will show that.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, let me say this, my statement was not given as a reservation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. ALLEN. It could not be called a reservation. Any man has the right to offer such amendments as he wants to.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN. I simply gave it as a clarifying statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let me clarify the parliamentary situation.

In the first place, the chairman withdrew his two bills and we are considering the Kennedy bill and the Magnuson bill only.

Mr. MASON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That was for a purpose that is not necessary to go into now.

The committee, in its wisdom, after consideration in executive session, either may vote out these bills or amend the bills, or may report a bill that may be rewritten by the committee.

At that time the gentleman from Louisiana naturally would have the right to offer such amendments which would be germane, if they are germane, to any piece of legislation dealing with the points we have raised, and he may also make reservation on the floor on any question that he so desires; I assume that the statement that my friend makes is just to give him that protection.

Mr. ALLEN. No—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, is that clear now?

Mr. ALLEN. I would prefer that the statement speak for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. And through some error, apparently, the Congressional Record did refer to the two other bills which I had withdrawn, and I think Mr. Mason is correct when he said I have withdrawn them. I made that statement at the opening session.

Mr. ALLEN. That was just a statement on your own bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, it was not the action of the committee.

Mr. MASON. Oh, yes. He asked consent to withdraw those bills and consent was given. Therefore that was by the consent of the committee. The record will show that.

Mr. ALLEN. I was listening then.

Mr. MASON. You must have had your ears closed then.

Mr. ALLEN. I happened to be listening.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will take notice of that.

Is Dr. VanKirk here, of the Federal Council of Churches?

STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER W. VAN KIRK, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Dr. VAN KIRK. Dr. Walter W. VanKirk, Federal Council of Churches, and Dr. Lyman Shafer, of the Foreign Missions Conference.

I desire, Mr. Chairman, if I may, to present the following statement for the record of this committee hearing.

It is the copy of an action taken by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of May 19, of this year—last week, in fact.

Whereas our immigration laws affecting orientals are based on discrimination on account of race; and

Whereas such racial discrimination does violence to the Christian view of one humanity under God, is contrary to the democratic principles upon which this country was founded, and to proved scientific facts: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America express the hope that the Congress of the United States, taking into account these principles, will take immediate steps to modify these laws, to allow natives of friendly countries, otherwise admissible, to enter this country under the existing quota system and become citizens on the same terms as immigrants from nonoriental countries.

I desire at the same time to present to the committee for the record a list of some 50 very distinguished Christian leaders in this country. I shall not burden the committee by reading their names unless the committee were to ask for them. I present the names of these persons who have authorized me, on their behalf, to support the principle of the action embodied in the resolution from the Federal Council.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the membership of the groups that you represent here?

Dr. VAN KIRK. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has related to it some twenty-four of the larger Protestant communions of this country.

I should say the total membership of these bodies represent something like twenty millions of people, but I would not want to be construed by the Committee as presuming to speak for these people.

The CHAIRMAN. But they asked you to represent them and speak on their behalf?

Dr. VAN KIRK. That is the executive committee of this body which is made up of the official representatives of these 24 large Protestant communions.

The CHAIRMAN. And their views would be your views, which you are giving us?

Dr. VAN KIRK. Quite so. This is official action.

The CHAIRMAN. Without taking too much time, and without objection, the names you mentioned will be included at this point.

(The list of names referred to is as follows:)

CHURCH LEADERS WHO PETITION CONGRESS TO REMOVE DISCRIMINATION BASED UPON RACE FROM OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS AS BEARING UPON COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS AT PEACE

Henry A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union.
Eugene E. Barnett, general secretary, Young Men's Christian Association.
M. Searle Bates, Yale Divinity School.
J. Henry Carpenter, Brooklyn Church Federation.
Henry S. Coffin, president, Union Theological Seminary.
Albert E. Day, pastor, Pasadena, Calif.

Mark Dawber, Home Missions Council of North America.
 J. W. Decker, International Missionary Council.
 Ralph E. Diffendorfer, Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.
 Frederick L. Fagley, secretary, Congregational-Christian Churches.
 Wynn C. Fairfield, American Board of Foreign Missions.
 Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor, New York, N. Y.
 James H. Franklin, president, Crozer Theological Seminary.
 Charles K. Gilbert, bishop, Episcopal Church.
 William Ernest Hocking, professor of philosophy, Harvard University.
 E. K. Higdon, United Christian Missionary Society.
 Douglas Horton, minister at large, Congregational-Christian Church.
 Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa.
 W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.
 Kenneth S. Latourette, professor, Yale University.
 Charles T. Leber, secretary, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.
 Sarah S. Lyon, Young Women's Christian Association.
 Francis J. McConnell, bishop, Methodist Church.
 Elmore M. McKee, pastor, New York, N. Y.
 John J. Mackay, president, Princeton Theological Seminary.
 Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College.
 Charles Clayton Morrison, editor, Christian Century.
 Leslie B. Moss, secretary, Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches.
 John R. Mott, New York, N. Y.
 Eric M. North, secretary, American Bible Society.
 G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop, Methodist Church.
 Daniel A. Poling, pastor, Philadelphia, Pa.
 William B. Pugh, stated clerk, Presbyterian Church, United States of America.
 George W. Richards, president emeritus, Lancaster Theological Seminary.
 Howard Chandler Robbins, professor, General Theological Seminary.
 Ruth Isabel Seabury, American Board.
 Ralph W. Sockman, pastor, New York.
 John S. Stamm, pastor, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Frank W. Sterrett, bishop, Episcopal Church.
 Ernest F. Tittle, pastor, Evanston, Ill.
 Channing H. Tobias, Young Men's Christian Association.
 A. L. Warnshuis, former secretary, International Missionary Council.
 Herbert Welch, bishop, Methodist Church.
 Henry P. Van Dusen, professor, Union Theological Seminary.
 Luther A. Weigle, president, Yale Divinity School.
 Mary E. Woolley, former president, Mount Holyoke College.

STATEMENT OF DR. LYMAN SHAFER, OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE

Dr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, may I also ask that they be included in the record? I represent the Foreign Missions Conference which has, in its membership, practically all the churches engaged in missionary work in China, more than 3,000 missionaries, and this conference is not accustomed to expressing its opinions on affairs within the United States because the Federal Council is, after all, the agency of the churches. But in view of our particular relationship to this problem and our interest in it, I am here representing that group today.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. VanKirk, is there anything further you want to say?

Dr. VANKIRK. I think not, Mr. Chairman. I wish to present the action of the Federal Council.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say that I think I have heard Dr. VanKirk over the radio.

Dr. VANKIRK. Thank you. "Religion and the News."

Mr. ALLEN. I have enjoyed that and I listen to it every chance I get; it is very splendid.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you have found a constituent.

Dr. VANKIRK. I hope some day to be able to report that our laws have been effected in line with the recommendations of the Executive committee.

Mr. ALLEN. In a nutshell, your position is that you feel that all of our laws which discriminate against orientals generally should be wiped out?

Dr. VANKIRK. That is right; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you very much.

Mr. KEARNEY. One question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KEARNEY. Does that include the Japanese also?

Dr. VANKIRK. The resolution states all oriental races.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Dr. SHAFER. I would like to make one point, if you select at this time the Chinese, I hope it may be possible to take that action on the general principle of removing racial discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a big order.

Dr. SHAFER. That is a big order.

The CHAIRMAN. We are just confining ourselves to China, and what may happen in the future, I am not able to say.

Dr. SHAFER. I am quite willing that you do that, if you make it clear to the Chinese that you put them on equality with the other nations of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we understand that.

Mr. ELMER. You mentioned that you did not ordinarily take any part in the internal affairs of the United States?

Dr. SHAFER. I meant the Federal Council of Churches, within the United States. We are the organ of the church which carries on foreign-mission work. It is a very small point. So we have ordinarily delegated all of our activities of this sort to the council.

Mr. ELMER. Well, do you mean by that that you are trying to dodge the racial question inside the United States?

Dr. SHAFER. No, sir. It is simply a technical church situation. Not at all a matter of opinion.

Mr. ELMER. Now, do you take a vote among your membership on all of these views that you are presenting?

Dr. VANKIRK. Do you mean kind of a Gallup poll?

Mr. ELMER. No.

Dr. VANKIRK. No; we operate on what we think is a democratic basis. These communions appoint their members to sit on the executive committee, and the executive committee, trying honestly to reflect the views of their communions, vote as they vote.

Mr. ELMER. It is merely the views, then, of the committee?

Dr. VANKIRK. Yes.

Mr. ELMER. But as for taking a poll of your churches, you do not do that?

Dr. VANKIRK. No.

Mr. ELMER. I just wondered when I had had a chance to vote.

Dr. VANKIRK. No; we do not do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Dr. Carpenter here? Rev. J. Henry Carpenter? He represents Brooklyn Federation of Churches.

STATEMENT OF REV. J. HENRY CARPENTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, BROOKLYN CHURCH AND MISSION FEDERATION, REPRESENTING THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Dr. CARPENTER. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. Chairman—The CHAIRMAN. See that the stenographer gets that.

Dr. CARPENTER. I represent the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I merely represent the Fellowship, but I am executive secretary of the Brooklyn Federation of Churches.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Dr. CARPENTER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen:

Having just returned from a 43,000 mile trip which took me via some devious routes to China, where I inspected and reported to Dr. H. H. Kung, Finance Minister, on Chinese industrial cooperatives, I feel it a privilege to be allowed time before this committee to speak on behalf of better friendly relations for these great people.

As a part of my trip I rode 1,700 miles through the northwest on a truck.

I was in five provinces and met with the officials and yet talked with and lived among the common people.

Thus I can speak today with intimate knowledge and with real feeling because of these recent first-hand contacts.

There is probably no country in the world which has been more awakened as from a lethargy and which is planning more immediate steps toward rehabilitation and industrialization than China.

With this awakening, however, has come the deep sense in the mind of the Chinese themselves of their nation's rightful place in the new world order and also an increased sense of nationalism which has been forced upon them by the struggle of long years of war and is, as well, the outcome of their "new life movement."

The nations of the world, and above all, America, must recognize this feeling of the Chinese for equal participation in world affairs and for their rights in respect to other races.

As I traveled from one end of China to the other, and talked to Central Government officials, to provincial leaders, to generals and party representatives, as well as to the common people in village and city, the plans for and the way to China's future were uppermost in their minds.

It was the basis of addresses and even fiery speeches made in the interest of the prosecution of the war.

In 90 or more percent of these presentations and conversations the final point was of friendship and relationship to America. Even the most nationalistic were, at the same time, most positive in voicing the hope of future friendly relations between China and our Nation.

In my personal conversations with Dr. Kung, in speaking of the feeling of Chinese for America, he made this remarkable statement: "We Chinese believe in fair play and justice. We are happy to cooperate with the nation which traditionally stands for these principles. America, we know, is unselfish. She is taxing herself to the limit to win this war, not only for herself but for the other peoples of the world—and we like that." There must be "no fight between one race and another. We must be 'on the level' with each other."

We must be "on the level" with China. It seems inevitable that we must give equal treatment to China after the war is over. What a most salutary step it would be to recognize the Chinese now and remove that real blot upon our sense of fair play and democracy which has refused to these now friendly oriental allies the right of immigration and citizenship.

Such a move at this moment when China is beset by the foe from without, and also beset from within by the inflation and suffering due to the lack of goods and materials, would instantly revitalize the Nation, and what is most important, give them real hope for the future. They would then understand that the Atlantic Charter was, in reality, the Pacific Charter also. It would reach far beyond free China into occupied China, into Manchuria to the suffering Chinese there. And only one who has seen the destruction in China can fully realize what that means.

It would immediately put new hope into the hearts and souls of the peoples of these countries and thus win them as allies to the cause of freedom.

Therefore, whether we are looking at the immediate effect upon the spirit and morale of these millions of our allies in China or whether we are projecting our minds to the future peace, the repeal of the exclusion laws now is both strategic and potentially significant.

When the cessation of hostilities comes, America will need strong partners in the winning of a just peace, as she needs strong allies now. The recognition of the Chinese people in our immigration laws and the right to citizenship through the legislation we are backing today will make China a strong ally now, but what is as important and maybe even more important, a strong partner in the peace.

Having pointed out the potential value of this action now, may I also bring to your minds just as forcibly the result of negative action if this legislation were not voted?

The press of our Nation would carry as large, if not larger, headlines, heralding the reverse decision to the world. What glee there would be in the minds of the Axis propagandists in Berlin and Tokyo, as they would blurt out of their radios this refusal of America to grant equality. They will reiterate their statement broadcast to China and the other occupied countries and islands of the Orient that America does not really mean this brotherhood she so glibly talks about.

The trouble with this will be that it will be based on true facts if Congress should now vote negatively when all the world, and especially the Chinese, know you are voting on this very issue.

Consequently it can readily be seen that a negative vote on this matter would be more than disastrous. It would be a real calamity to set back, if not break up, the present allied unity and would make talk of a just peace all but a travesty in the Oriental mind.

Therefore, in speaking for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an international membership organization with 25,000 adherents in 20 countries and over 14,000 members in the United States, we urge that legislation be formulated and passed which will give the Chinese people the same rights and place as other nationals who now have quotas.

May I add that, though I represent the Fellowship specifically in this, I am speaking for my constituency in our 400 churches in Brooklyn, and as a churchman for Christians everywhere. Congress

must find some way to declare null and void anything in our immigration laws that contains discrimination against our Chinese allies. Such a vote now will be a gesture of democratic intent which will save lives and speed the coming of the day of real peace.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

We will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock, and all witnesses are to return at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the committee took a recess until 2 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2 p. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Magnuson, president of the National Institute of Immigration Welfare, here?

Is Mr. Neprud here?

STATEMENT OF CARL NEPRUD, WASHINGTON, D. C., AMERICAN CITIZEN

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you represent?

Mr. NEPRUD. I represent myself, American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. NEPRUD. I might say before I start, I have lived in the Far East for the last 29 years; that I have lived in all parts of China from the Russian border to the French border and from the coastal area to the borders on the west. I have worked in many cities, including Harbin, Mukden, Peiping, Shanghai, Yochow, Pakhoi, and Chungking, and I have traveled fairly extensively in the area. I returned only a short time ago from Hong Kong, where I was a prisoner of war for 6 months, returning to Lourenço Marques on the *Asama Maru* and then by the *Gripsholm* to New York.

I would like to say it is very heartening to find that the members of this committee are giving serious consideration to providing a suitable measure against the stigma of the Chinese exclusion laws—to stop insulting our staunch friend and ally, China, by the language of our statutes.

While the principle involved is of great importance to the dignity of the Chinese people, who are indeed a self-respecting people, a liberty-loving people, people who have endured and are enduring unbelievable hardships in order to remain free, the technical question involved from the point of view of immigration is indeed a very small matter, namely, extending the quota principle to permit approximately 100 Chinese into the United States each year.

Divided among the 48 States that represents only about 2 per State per year, not 2 per city or per county, but 2 per State—truly an infinitesimal number.

What an opportunity we Americans have to strengthen our relations with China at this time by the passing of this very simple piece of legislation, extending the quota principle on which our present immigration policy is based to cover the Chinese.

Quite aside from the obvious benefits which would accrue to this country by having a few new contacts each year with China, of value to us in understanding the Chinese people and developments in that part of the world and in the prompting of our commercial relations,

there is the thought that were we to repeal the exclusion feature, not only would the Chinese be a whole lot happier, but we ourselves would be happier.

Gentlemen, I have a feeling that we, as a people, would not be very happy about it were some country with whom we are at peace to pass an immigration law permitting people to come in from every other country except from America.

We would not like it. We would feel as though an insult had been flung in our face. I think we could be sure of one thing: We would take some steps to try to remove the insult.

Let us not be too critical if some Chinese now and then, however restrained and tolerant they are, let us in on how they feel. That is one thing we should want to know. As a self-respecting people who value self-respect in others, I feel confident that the great bulk of the American people will, if they understand what is involved, be in favor of removing the stigma—a stigma against us as much as against the Chinese because when we insult others; we belittle ourselves.

The Chinese represent over 400,000,000 people and occupy a piece of territory about one-third larger than our own. As we will have to work with the Chinese people after the war, as well as during the war, why not do it in a nice atmosphere?

I am glad that it has been brought out clearly in the hearing held so far that placing Chinese on a quota does not mean that vast hordes or millions of Chinese will come in to compete with our labor.

In my opinion it is possible that not one laborer—as that term was used in the eighties when the exclusion laws were introduced—will be admitted under the annual quota of 100.

It should also be noted that our own immigration authorities would maintain a careful check on who is included under the quota. Our officials should be in a position to pick people possessing high qualifications—men and women of intelligence, education, character, and culture.

Much stress has quite rightly been laid on the countereffect such a repeal bill as any of the ones now under consideration would have against the propaganda the Japanese are directing against America by virtue of the fact that the exclusion laws are still on our statute books.

Time and again I have seen reference in Japanese-controlled papers to our exclusion laws. You gentlemen may be interested in a few Hong Kong papers which I succeeded in taking away with me past the Japanese gendarme officer who inspected my luggage before my departure. The papers will serve to show you that the Japanese are very much on the job in pushing propaganda of all kinds in occupied areas, against America and other countries.

I brought with me—

The CHAIRMAN. Are the documents that you are now discussing originals?

Mr. NEPRUD. These documents are English newspapers printed by the Japanese in Hong Kong for the benefit of spreading their propaganda to Chinese, to Indians, and Third Party Nationals, to anyone who can read the English language.

They are published by the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Then they have other papers in other languages?

Mr. NEPRUD. In Hong Kong they have other papers in Chinese and Japanese languages.

While they have a rule that no English shall be used in Hong Kong or printed or put on their signboards, they still turn out an English paper of their own in order to get their propaganda out to people who do not read Chinese or Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the high lights?

Mr. NEPRUD. I will give the high lights in all of them.

Here is an article with the headline: "Development of Thailand under aegis of Japan."

Here is one headed: "American ignorance chiefly to blame for present war."

Here is one: "Singapore capitulates."

I might read a few lines:

The loss of Singapore means much more than the loss of a strategic base or a rich commercial center to the British. It means also the loss of every vestige of western prestige that was left in the Orient. The fall of Singapore seals the end of the white man's days in East Asia, and for the peoples of the South China Seas, it will henceforth be the pinnacle from which the light of Japanese culture and protection will shine on a happy brotherhood of contented, prosperous people.

Here is another one, which I would like to draw your special attention to. It says, "Chinese now turn more to Nippon." This is Tokyo (Domei), their main news agency.

Maj. Gen. Takayoshi Matsumoto, of the War Ministry, who recently returned from an inspection tour from China, told the press that following the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, the Chinese people in general have begun to realize Nippon's true aims in this war.

He revealed that influential Chinese, who had taken refuge in Shanghai, asserted that if Nipponese did not win the Pacific conflict, China would eventually be destroyed.

The general also disclosed that Nipponese troops in China had been fighting 500 to 1,000 battles per month under the worst conditions, and added that the Nipponese forces battling in the China affair, which constituted the focal point of the Greater East Asia War, have been vigorously pushing on with their mopping-up operations against the Chungking troops.

There is a case of a Japanese general who has been on an inspection tour in China, coming back to report that Japanese troops have been fighting 500 to 1,000 battles a month in all parts of China.

I say our Chinese friends have been doing a big job and they deserve support and the kind of support which America can give them here is what they would welcome. The Chinese people as a whole have a clear understanding of this question.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything more from the Japanese on the American question?

Mr. NEPRUD. In these papers?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NEPRUD. Here is something: "United States has passed into history." That is the heading of it.

Here is the kind of paper they get out ever so often. Pictures are included.

The latest batch of American prisoners of war to arrive in Nippon from Guam and other southern regions landed in Osaka on June 9. Here they are seen waiting to proceed to their place of internment.

Here is another picture which shows the Premier of so-called Manchoukuo as special envoy to Nanking, shaking hands with

President Wang Ching-wei upon the arrival of the so-called Manchukuan goodwill mission to China. The idea is to show the fine relations existing among the puppets the Japanese are setting up.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think a law passed here in Congress would change that situation?

Mr. BEPRUD. No; but I think it would have a wholesome effect, a twofold effect.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, how do you think that would affect what the Japanese say?

Mr. NEPRUD. The Japanese are busy telling the Chinese about our exclusion law. If we change that exclusion law, that would have a two fold purpose: We would be meeting that propaganda and at the same time we would be encouraging the Chinese who are in a very difficult position right now in their fighting and need a little encouragement. This is a case where a little can do a lot.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, are there any other questions?

Mr. ELLIS. First, I would like to have the gentleman, to give a correct background to his testimony, state his business in China.

Mr. NEPRUD. I have been with the Chinese Customs Service for the last 29 years. I am a commissioner of customs in China.

Mr. BENNETT. In the articles you were reading there is no reference to the Chinese exclusion law.

Mr. NEPRUD. In these particular papers there is no reference to the Chinese exclusion law, but I have seen it in many others. I do not have very many papers with me but I happened to have these and I thought you gentlemen would be interested in seeing the type of propaganda the Japanese employ.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, it is true that all countries engaged in the war are using the same kind of propaganda? We have an O. W. I. down here that is doing enormous work in Europe.

I think that is an accepted practice today with all nations at war.

Mr. NEPRUD. You may be sure that all nations are using propaganda, but if you have a chance to weaken their propaganda, I think it is in our interest.

Mr. McCOWEN. I believe the witness made a statement that in his opinion laborers would not be brought in under this law.

Is that the way you meant to say it?

Mr. NEPRUD. I say, the type of laborer that was considered back in the eighties when they first got the exclusion law. I do not think such laborers would come in, under the law.

Mr. McCOWEN. Well, they could, could they not?

Mr. NEPRUD. Yes; they could; but it is up to the immigration authorities to see that the standards are properly fulfilled, and I expect that our standards as to education and general background would be such that it is doubtful if any of that type would come in.

Mr. McCOWEN. Were you an employee of the United States Government?

Mr. NEPRUD. No, I am an employee of the Chinese Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American?

Mr. NEPRUD. I am an American, born in Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. NEPRUD. In Coon Valley, Wis.

The CHAIRMAN. How recently were you in the Far East?

Mr. NEPRUD. I left Hong Kong on the first of July last year, on the *Asama Maru*, which was the exchange ship.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a prisoner, you say?

Mr. NEPRUD. I was a prisoner. I was there when Hong Kong was attacked and when the Japanese took over. I remained there until the exchange ship left.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Now, can you leave some of these documents and pictures and, so that we not have to wade through this mass of stuff, mark them off with red pencil, and if you could bring us some more of that material, I would appreciate it.

(The newspapers referred to are as follows:)

THE HONG KONG NEWS, FEBRUARY 17, 1942

In an editorial entitled "Singapore capitulates," a writer states, in part, as follows with respect to Japan's mission in the Far East:

" * * * But the old order has changed. This is the age of enlightenment of Asiatic peoples. Japan has shown the way, and Asia has been quick to respond to the new movement * * *"

" * * * Singapore is not only strategically important for military purposes. It is the logical focal point of all East Asia trade, and commands seventh place among the ports of the world. Tradesmen of all nationalities, including half a million Chinese, handle the wealth that goes from her wharves to the four corners of the globe. It was British for over a century. The loss of Singapore means much more than the loss of a strategic base or a rich commercial center to the British. It means also the loss of every vestige of western prestige that was left in the Orient. The fall of Singapore seals the end of the white man's days in East Asia, and for the peoples of the South China Seas, it will henceforth be the pinnacle from which the light of Japanese culture and protection will shine on a happy brotherhood of contented, prosperous people."

THE HONG KONG NEWS, APRIL 9, 1942

News item headed "Development of Thailand under aegis of Japan" says in part:

BANGKOK, Apr. 7 (Domei).—Since the war broke out 4 months ago, Thailand has made surprising developments as a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The whole attitude of the Thai people has undergone a change. For years they had been drilled by the British and the Americans, until the Premier, Field Marshal Luang Pibul Songgram, broke with Britain and allied Thailand to Japan. The people of the country have since then completely changed their ideas.

One section of the people at first did not understand what the Japanese Army was doing, and it was not until the Malay States and Burma passed under Japanese control that they realized the situation which confronted them with every fresh newspaper announcement of victory. They now understand that from the United States to Australia the whole position has changed.

[From the Hongkong News, May 25, 1942]

Prominence is given to the following special item:

CHINESE NOW TURN MORE TO NIPPON

TOKYO, May 23 (Domei).—Maj. Gen. Takayoshi Matsumoto, of the War Ministry, who recently returned from an inspection tour of China, told the press that following the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War the Chinese people in general have begun to realize Nippon's true aims in this war.

He revealed that influential Chinese who had taken refuge in Shanghai asserted that if the Nipponese did not win the Pacific conflict, China would eventually be destroyed.

The general also disclosed that Nipponese troops in China had been fighting 500 to 1,000 battles per month under the worst conditions and added that the

Nipponese forces battling in the China affair, which constituted the focal point in the Greater East Asia War, have been vigorously pushing on with their mopping-up operations against the Chungking troops.

Another picture shows a group of American boys in uniform on a street in Osaka. The description below the picture is: The latest batch of American prisoners of war to arrive in Nippon from Guam and other southern regions landed in Osaka on June 9. Here they are seen waiting to proceed to their place of internment.

In accordance with Chairman Dickstein's request made at the hearing Mr. Neprud submitted the following additional material:

The Hongkong News of March 30, 1942, and of February 22, 1942; New York Times article cabled from Chungking on May 29, 1943, by Mr. Brooks Atkinson; and a special article in the Washington News of June 1, 1943, by Mr. William Phillip Simms emphasizing the critical situation obtaining in China at this moment.

In connection with these items, Mr. Neprud submitted the following covering statement: On the front page * * * occupied territory.

COVERING STATEMENT FOR ADDITIONAL MATERIAL, SUBMITTED TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

On the front page of the Hongkong News of March 30, 1942, there is an article labeled "Vatican appointment proves Japan's religious tolerance." The point is that in widening her horizon Japan has assumed control over territories with millions of Catholics; and so Japan is accordingly very prompt in announcing that she is a believer in religious freedom and will tolerate Catholicism—and in view of her responsibilities with respect to the millions of Catholics within the conquered territories—according to the article there are 18,000,000 of them—a Japanese minister has been appointed to the Vatican. Japan believes at least in getting her formalities right.

The Hongkong News of February 22, 1942, contains an order of the day by Gen. Rensuke Isogai, newly appointed governor of Hongkong. The order reads, in part, as follows:

* * * "The great objective of the war in east Asia is certainly to guarantee the peace of east Asia, through which peace may extend to the whole world for the glorious happiness of all countries. Therefore, Hongkong under military rule should hereafter cooperate, with the full effort of all sections of the people, to reconstruct its position and to help in the attainment of victory in the Greater East Asia War."

I can assure you gentlemen that as I watched the Japanese during my 6 months in Hongkong and saw the thorough and energetic way they went about establishing their control, I did not obtain the impression that driving them out of Hongkong or surrounding areas is going to be an easy task. I think in doing it it will be highly advisable to have close cooperation among the nations engaged in the task and the first essential will be to assure that a nice atmosphere obtains for carrying out such cooperation. There is always the danger that people who place great emphasis on the billions of dollars that can be spent on material of war may overlook the importance of a matter which is not so easily calculated in dollars and cents—in fact may not cost much at all, but is extremely important nonetheless.

Let us not think lightly of our relations with China. China offers the only territory from which Japan proper and her supply lines southward can conveniently be attacked at present in any worth-while manner. China's armies who have been resisting Japan's military machine for 6 years are keeping a million Japanese troops occupied in China right now and as the Japanese general stated, who inspected those troops as reported by the Domei News Agency in the article which I read at last week's hearing, those Japanese troops are required to fight anywhere from 500 to 1,000 battles per month. While we are not sending China any great amount of supplies at present, let us at least do what we can to help her maintain her morale. All through history there are examples of how comparatively little support from others at the right psychological moment, has helped produce victory. We should recall from a reading of the history of our own Revolutionary War what the friendship and genuine sympathy of France meant to the morale of our people in their war for independence. Right in this war I can think of two clear cases where a little did a lot. It will be remembered that a little American aid in the form of shipments of old Lee-Enfield rifles and Springfield—plus some machine guns and ammunition—helped to keep up the morale of the British people after the fall of Dunkerque. Also, it will be recalled that Mr. Churchill in his remarks before Congress a few weeks

ago, indicated that he is well aware that through some timely shipments of American tanks the morale of the armies fighting in Egypt was bolstered and their resistance was increased to the point that Rommel was stopped in his tracks, thus saving Suez and the whole of the Near East from falling to the enemy. Right now China is being hard pressed. The Japanese are obviously gathering forces in central China with a view to attempting to knock out China, thus depriving the Allied nations in the Far East from any terrain from which they can carry the fight to the heart of Japan and against her supply routes southward. While recent reports would indicate that the Chinese troops assisted by Chinese and American air forces are doing a splendid job in meeting the thrust, I think it is safe to assume that if Japan has started on a program designed to destroy China's resistance, perhaps contemplating the capture of Chungking, we can look for some heavy fighting in that part of China. China at this moment is on the spot. Not only is the might of the Japanese armies being concentrated on her but she has her difficulties within—due to the inflationary trend, the famine conditions that exist in some districts, and the difficulties of transportation due to shortage of gasoline for use in trucks.

On this point I should like to submit for inclusion in the record, a recent report to the New York Times sent from Chungking on the 29th of May by Mr. Brooks Atkinson. In his concluding paragraph, Mr. Atkinson states:

"But the margin of resistance obviously grows thinner all the time. China has been bled of the vital materials of life and of manpower for a long time and the Chinese are growing tired. Although Americans and Britons can see a steady improvement in their theaters of war, China's theater shows a slow and steady deterioration, and this is her situation after not a year and a half of war or 3 years and a half of war, but nearly 6 years. It would be risky to assume that China can hold out forever. All in all, China is populated by human beings."

I wish also to submit for the record an article in the Washington News of June 1, 1943, by the well-known war correspondent, William Phillip Simms. The article is headed "In dire straits" and emphasizes the critical situation that obtains in China now.

Maneuvering China's armies quickly in meeting several heavy thrusts that may be made now may not be a simple matter. The Japanese with their ships on the Yangtze and with other supply lines to the coast and with the oil of the Dutch Indies to draw on will be in far better position to shift their forces from one battle area to another. It is to be hoped that the global strategists who met in Washington a few weeks ago decided that as far as supplies are concerned, whatever can be sent into China will be sent in. The main route is now the air route via Upper Assam. That great Louisiana airman, Gen. Claire Chennault, who with his fighting force of Americans and Chinese is doing a grand job on behalf of China and America, can put to good use any additional air equipment that can be flown in at this time. General Chennault is truly one American general of whom it can be said that he outdoes the Japanese in getting a lot out of a little. This Congress has an opportunity to contribute to the situation in the Far East by passing a simple bill whereby we will stop insulting our ally and friend, China, by the language of our statutes.

Measures of this kind at this psychological moment may play their part in helping to defeat Japan—particularly as has been emphasized at these hearings by creating a decent atmosphere for cooperation, strengthening morale of the Chinese, and taking a propaganda weapon away from the Japanese in the occupied territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the next witness, Mr. Magnussen, honorary president of the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare.

STATEMENT OF LIEFUR MAGNUSSEN, HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF IMMIGRANT WELFARE, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. The National Institute, Mr. Chairman, is a welfare and service organization interested in adjusting, assimilating, and Americanizing the immigrant on a basis of service to him and keeping open opportunities of American life, and his adjustment to it as much as possible, by acquainting the immigrant group, one with the other.

We are sort of a clearing house and center for a group of national local agencies called National Institutes for the Immigrant Groups in centers where there are a great many immigrants that meet socially and on a cultural plane of equality, and learn about each others' ways, and more particularly, about American ways of life and doing.

Our interest in this bill, Mr. Chairman, goes beyond the single bill, H. R. 1882, and is addressed towards the general group of bills that are before Congress now, some of which have been withdrawn but with the principle of which, as well as of this principle, we are in agreement.

We want to do everything we can to ameliorate and improve the status of this particular class of aliens in the United States; the orientals, under present immigration laws and treatment, are a group apart and are considered somewhat differently from the other peoples who do come into this country.

The institute does this, Mr. Chairman, on the principle that it should help to make more easy the cultural assimilation and political adaptation of this particular group of alien people to American ways of life.

It does not seem to the institute that it will further our principle of the adjustment of these groups to American life to sanction and continue methods of coercion and intolerance.

The history of our immigration experiments and our abandonment of all devices of this sort progressively and gradually to most other races, seems to justify this opinion on the part of the institute.

For example, historically speaking, had this Government lost its head completely in 1798 to the storm of alien laws that came up at that time, we would have, I think, made a mistake in what has been our policy and the principles we have pursued since then.

We might have lost our heads in 1840, when the Molly Maguires were active and it was said, "Let us keep out the Catholics and the Irish from the country."

We might have lost our heads in 1890, when there were some riots in New Orleans. I think it was just before the Theodore Roosevelt administration, a similar situation arose, similar to the one that gave rise to the exclusion laws in 1880.

Perhaps we were justified in losing our heads in 1880, 1881, and 1882, but we have less reason now because all we are asking for is that these people be treated on a basis of equality.

If you start to discriminate on the basis of race, you are putting yourself in the position of the Almighty.

It does not help our group to give to these persons invidious distinctions which other people do not have.

There is talk against certain kinds of discrimination that is not discrimination of physiological nature; you cannot be a doctor because you have not learned certain things.

Those are discriminations of a different kind, but this is a discrimination, as has been said before, Mr. Chairman, as to which the persons involved could not possibly adjust themselves under any circumstances because they cannot change the color of their hair, the slant of their eyes, and so on.

We just simply think upon the attempt to solve our problem, the first step is an opportunity for them. We have no views at all, Mr. Chairman, as to the quota law, nor do we want to abolish that, or destroy that in any way. That is a policy of the American Govern-

ment. All we ask in regard to the quota law is that it be administered on the basis of equality so that they can hope to comply with it if we have it.

If you want to close off all immigration, that is the policy of Congress; but we simply say, if you exclude one person on the basis of the color of their hair, you should exclude them all, and so forth.

And we are not raising any question of economics with regard to this. I cannot help but say so, it seems rather absurd to think that 107 new people let in will make much industrial difference on a basis that will compete with Americans; and furthermore, Mr. Chairman, if you want to follow that kind of thing up, if mere numbers of people have anything to do with our depression, why, when we get a depression let us all go around and cut our left hands off and we will not be doing so much.

In other words, the point is, it has nothing to do with the question.

This is purely a question of equality of treatment in the eyes of the American laws for which we contend.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. BENNETT. Are your views the same with respect to other Asiatics as they are to the Chinese?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. With regard to admission to citizenship or voting?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, with regard to quotas.

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is really not before us, and that is only his opinion.

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are definite in your opinion that you think the placing of China on an equality with other quota countries will honestly help to solve—I do not say solve, but help our war efforts for the present and the future, if our boys have to go over to China?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. Yes; our emphasis is entirely on the situation within this country in the improvement of the relationship.

Mr. LESINSKI. Is it not a fact, also, that under the Constitution we preach equality and equal rights of all people?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. Yes.

Mr. LESINSKI. And is it not also a fact that right at this time our Government has put out a great big bulletin of the flags of all countries. At the top they have Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and China, and 20-some Allied Nations, and a hand with a torchlight?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. Yes.

Mr. LESINSKI. And yet we have not given that right to China?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. Have not given what?

Mr. LESINSKI. Have not given them that right.

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. That is true.

Mr. LESINSKI. That is just an irony, is it not?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. There is certainly irony there.

We do make discriminations, of course, ourselves, but we do not write them into law; that is the question.

Mr. ELMER. Do you feel when you put up all the flags, that when you salute the American flag you have to salute them all?

Mr. MAGNUSSEN. I would salute them all, but with somewhat different feeling with regard to the other 69. There are 70-some in the world. I could respect the others, if that is what you mean by "salute" here.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed now, Mr. Haan?

STATEMENT OF KILSOO K. HAAN, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, KOREAN NATIONAL FRONT FEDERATION AND SINO-KOREAN PEOPLES' LEAGUE

Mr. HAAN. I represent the Korean National Front Federation, as well as the Sino-Korean Peoples' League.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the same Kilsoo Haan who came before this committee 2 or 3 years ago and gave us some information on Japan and their activities?

Mr. HAAN. Yes; I am the same Haan, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish we had listened to you then.

Mr. HAAN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on. Now, be brief, will you, Mr. Haan.

Mr. HAAN. Yes.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Haan, again, before you proceed, are you the man who tipped us off on Pearl Harbor before it was actually in effect?

Mr. HAAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LESINSKI. And nobody believed you.

Mr. HAAN. Of course, at that time the situation was quite different.

As a preface to my talk, I would like to present comments of various officials and public comments of American leaders regarding our work and also a memo giving some of the factual things which have developed, based upon some of our previous reports, based upon time before and since Pearl Harbor, which might clarify certain issues that I am prepared to enter into.

I believe this H. R. 1882 primarily should be considered purely as a war measure and not a domestic immigration question as if the war had been won already.

I am not here pleading for Korea or for the Koreans. I am pleading for China as a means to effect victory, and also to set up an orderly collaboration between China and the other Asiatic nations in that particular area, basically, to save as many lives of Americans as possible in that particular area in the war with Japan.

I thank you for this generous gesture of good will, permitting me to testify before your committee once again today.

In behalf of the Koreans, permit me to express my humble opinion in favor of the House Resolution 1882, "To grant Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights to citizenship."

As representative of the Korean National Front Federation and Sino-Korean Peoples' League, I believe our record in getting advance information of the Japanese anti-American activities before and since the Jap attack on Pearl Harbor and the information which I am about to submit to the committee will help the committee in some degree in its consideration of the subject in question.

The CHAIRMAN. You must be very friendly with Japan.

Mr. HAAN. Well, we get along pretty well.

On January 24, 1943, Premier Hideki Tojo of Japan is said to have submitted a bold and a revolutionary separate-peace plan with China to the Japanese Supreme War Council last November 1942, for their approval. This separate-peace proposal with China will be launched not later than September 1943.

I have submitted this information to the United States Government. This information was received through our agents in the

Orient. The informers gave this significant data, as well as informations of a nature which will help us to generalize the coming events in the Far East.

The CHAIRMAN. When you talk about informers, you are talking about whom?

Mr. HAAN. Our agents.

The CHAIRMAN. Your agents?

Mr. HAAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Go on.

Mr. HAAN. According to the information, Tojo has already requested of Wang Ching-Wei, the head of the Nanking government (Jap puppet government), to pave the way among his former associates and close friends who are now in the Chungking Government and the Kuomintang Party.

Tojo is said to have told the supreme war council that he believes that Japan's major objective to crush Anglo-America can be best achieved if China can be made to see the benefits of a separate peace with Japan.

Liberal conditions for separate peace: In order to achieve Tojo's aim, it is said he will propose a revolutionary, bold but liberal conditions for separate peace—said to be that:

1. China to break and withdraw from the United Nations and to remain neutral for the duration.

2. Japan to restore to China all of the occupied territories, status quo as of 1937; however, Japan reserving the right to control and use for the duration all the railroads and harbors now under the control of the Japanese military.

3. Japan and China to name equal number of delegates to set up an International Commission, creating the machinery to reorganize Manchukuo for joint ownership of Manchuria between Japan and China after the war.

4. Japan to grant China 1,000,000,000 yen credit—

The CHAIRMAN. How much is 1,000,000,000 yen?

Mr. HAAN. One billion yen will be approximately—

The CHAIRMAN. \$10?

Mr. HAAN. No. Four yen make \$1 in American money.

Mr. LESINSKI. \$250,000.

Mr. HAAN. Japan to grant China 1,000,000,000 yen credit in the form of lend-lease patented after the U. S. lend-lease principle, to aid China in her reconstruction work and to finance China's participation in all the industrial enterprises now in Manchuria, under joint ownership under the present Japanese management.

Those who are close to Premier Tojo proclaimed that his separate peace proposal with China will be a "master stroke" in winning over the people of China and India toward Japan "for an early victory."

I may perhaps recall the incident in which Premier Tojo has already visited Nanking last March, and we are told, has already proposed his "separate peace with China" plan and is now working feverishly with China toward that end.

Premier Hideki Tojo, February 7, 1943, p. m., gave a party at his Tokyo residence in honor of the aged Mitsuru Toyama, head of the Black Dragon Society. At this party Premier Tojo disclosed that—

Rear Admiral Katsutaro Miyazaki had been chosen to head the invasion naval force against America, and Gen. Shunroku Hata to head the invasion army.

Rear Admiral Katsutaro Miyazaki is the head of the Naval Affairs Department of Kure naval station, and Gen. Hata was, until recently, head of the Japanese Army in China stationed in Nanking, China.

Premier Tojo "under great emotional strain" declared: "Until America is whipped into submission, Japan's daily life is war." "1943 is Japan's year of victory."

Gist of speculative talks at party and elsewhere in Japan:

1. Rear Admiral Mikazaki will command 60 percent of the Imperial Navy.

2. General Hata will have more than 100,000 picked troops from Kwantung Army.

3. Submarines and air strength will play the most important part.

Observation of Jap activities in Japan proper and Kurile Islands:

(a) Return to Japan of 10 Japanese divisions from Manchuria and Kwantung.

(b) Continuous troopship movements going to Kurile Island military and naval bases.

(c) Clearing and building navy airfields in Shumushu Island, Paramushiro Island, Onkotan Island, Etorofu Island, Kunashiri Island. These are all islands composing the chain of islands of the Kurile group in Northern Japan.

(d) Every known Korean laborer in all these islands was suddenly removed late in January of this year. The Koreans found these islands overcrowded with Japanese troops everywhere.

(e) The occupation army ready; the Jap occupation army.

The Jap occupation army is composed of 10,000 American citizens of Japanese ancestry, born in Hawaii and America, mostly raised and educated in the American educational institutions. There are also 2,000 Japanese born in Japan but who grew up and were educated in American educational institutions in America. These Jap-Americans know the Pacific coast only too well.

Last December, in 1942, Gen. Jiro Minami told the Jap Privy Council that Japan will be ready to strike America between June and October 1943.

In January 1943 Col. Nakao Yahagi declared:

It would be necessary to land on the American continent * * * remove the threat of Japan's position in the Pacific from Midway and Hawaii.

We know through the press the United States armed forces have occupied the island of Attu, to prevent Japanese offensive in the Northern Pacific area.

Our informers say that during the past 6 months 2,600 Filipinos have been brought into Japan and were made to marry Japanese girls. Late this year these 2,600 Filipinos will return to the Philippine Islands with their Japanese brides.

According to the Overseas Ministry announcement, it is said that in 3 years Japan expects to have 20,000 Japanese girls shipped to the Philippine Islands and 10,000 to Java and Thailand, to have them become brides of the Filipinos, Javanese, and Siamese. If this Japanization program shows signs of reasonable success it is said that within a generation 150,000 Japanese girls will be shipped to all parts of the occupied areas to be married off to promising ready-made young native bridegrooms.

The Japanese officials believe that if carefully selected natives are mated with the Japanese brides, within a generation the Japanization of the Philippine Islands, Java, Sumatra, Thailand, and Malay Peninsula will be successful.

In view of the information we have received of Japanese activities in China and all other occupied areas in the Pacific, we are deeply concerned at America's immediate and future political, psychological, and military strategy, to combat the clever Japanese move against America.

Due to Japan's active and aggressive propaganda, balanced with her conquest of the vast areas in the Pacific, already she has succeeded in neutralizing millions of Orientals and even won millions to her side.

The Atlantic Charter will become a meaningless gesture of Anglo-American declaration of policy unless more positive action is adopted proving that Anglo-Americans mean what they say. The relinquishing of extraterritoriality by Great Britain and America was the first constructive step in the clarification of many confused issues of the United States' policy toward China and her neighbor countries.

H. R. 1882 will greatly help to solidify this understanding to greater usefulness during and after this war.

Timely and psychological moves to win over millions of doubting Chinese and other Orientals toward America. Therefore I am of the belief if the Seventy-eighth Congress would approve H. R. 1882 and have it become law, it will become one of the most significant psychological and technical moves to defeat Japan at her own game in Asia and in the Pacific.

To win this war against Japan should be the first consideration.

We know without pretension that permitting 100 or 1,000 Chinese to America per year will not jeopardize the social, economic, political, or national welfare of the U. S. A.

On the contrary, it will aid United States security in the Pacific. Socially the Asiatics, with few exceptions, never have demanded nor will demand social equality. Asiatics desire equal political and economic equality, to be sure, but do not desire social equality, if the Americans are unwilling to grant it.

Economically the Chinese, more than any Asiatic immigrants, have contributed much toward the upbuilding of the welfare of America. Read the history of the Northern Pacific and other railroad companies in the early struggle to build the Pacific Railroad lines connecting the East with the West.

Remember the Boston Tea Party? It was China's tea that caused the revolution against tyranny in America.

The consciousness of revitalization of commerce in the Pacific will always be one of the important factors after this war. America will have to look toward China and Asia, in general. Across the Pacific there are more than a billion people and the American businessmen will want to win them over. China was and is the most important factor in time of war and peace. Even the American acquisitions of the Pacific Coast States owe much to China consciousness.

Mr. Willard Price, some years ago, published in the Asia Magazine this significant observation. He said:

For more than a century America has been Orient-bound. She has never arrived, and yet her failure has been a stirring success. The Nation would never

have developed as it has without the pull of the East. The American takes his California and Oregon for granted. It never occurred to him to thank China for them. And yet if it had not been for the lure of China, the west coast would today more probably belong to Russia, Britain, or Mexico than to the United States of America. It was the old China trade that made America coast conscious. The western coast was a precious vantage point for oriental trade.

American hearts were captivated by the eloquence of Senator Beveridge:

Our trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is one ocean, and the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific therefore is the power that rules the world.

What Senator Beveridge said decades ago is true today, and will be after this war.

Politically and militarily China is no longer only America's ally, but a necessity to win this war against Japan. Aside from the needless worry of ever having to face a few hundred Chinese after this war within America, I believe the most vital issue today is first—How can we win this war against Japan, and win this war with the least sacrifice of American lives?

I am of the opinion that if Congress adopts this H. R. 1882 into law it will not only help the war effort but will also bring hundreds of millions of natives in the Near and Far East to the side of America and Great Britain.

Japan today is rapidly gaining ground and consolidating its military power in the Far East against the United Nations. She is poised ready to strike Alaska and the United States mainland any moment. Will the Seventy-eighth Congress aid the war effort against Japan or will the Congress refuse to face reality?

I would like to offer this book to the committee and call attention particularly to pages 201, 202, and 203.

You will note very significant factors regarding what Japan intends to do against America in the early periods of this war.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this book written?

Mr. HAAN. It was written by a Japanese naval intelligence officer, Capt. Kinoaki Matsuo.

We got this book about 10 months before the war broke, and it shows Japanese plans as to how the war is to break, and about 80 percent has happened today.

The CHAIRMAN. About 80 percent of the plans discussed in the book have been carried out?

Mr. HAAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we need not read the book, then. You should have given me the book before Pearl Harbor.

Mr. HAAN. Well, we did present the book to the Government before Pearl Harbor.

The adoption of H. R. 1882 by the United States Congress is like the young lady on board who took a fancy to the youthful and handsome captain, who later told this story to her girl friends after the voyage:

Young lady: "Well, girls, I saved 1,500 passengers from drowning."

Girl friends: "How exciting. Tell us, how did you save so many lives?"

Young lady: "Well, the captain wanted a date the first day out. The second day he invited me to the captain's table. On the third

day, after the dinner, he told me if I refused to permit him to kiss me he would sink the ship."

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Haan, you were here about 2 years ago, weren't you?

Mr. HAAN. I have appeared here about three times before this.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were here dealing with the Japanese question that we discussed here in this committee—I believe it was about 2 years ago.

Mr. HAAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had certain facts about the strategy of Japan against the United States.

Mr. HAAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever conveyed these facts to the military authority of the United States?

Mr. HAAN. Yes; we have.

Mr. BENNETT. Was that before Pearl Harbor or after?

Mr. HAAN. Before Pearl Harbor. In September 1940 our agents reported that they were working on a small model submarine. It was one of those submarines that we got in Pearl Harbor.

The question came up at that time of the strategic value of it rather than the existence of the submarine.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, gentlemen?

Mr. KEARNEY. That book is not on sale in the United States, is it?

Mr. HAAN. Yes; at the request of the American Legion, we have translated that and we have sold about 10,000 copies in this country and nine or ten thousand in England.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is the translation?

Mr. HAAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. ELMER. What do you say is the population of China?

Mr. HAAN. I think it is merely hearsay, as far as I am concerned. They claim they have 450,000,000 people.

Mr. ELMER. It is nearly twice that; is it not?

Mr. HAAN. I could not say.

Mr. ELMER. Do you not think there are millions in China who do not know this war is going on?

Mr. HAAN. On the contrary, I think the people have felt that more than any other racial group.

Mr. ELMER. What percent of China has Japan occupied?

Mr. HAAN. I think about a fifth.

Mr. ELMER. What percent of the population is under their control?

Mr. HAAN. About 2,000,000.

Mr. ELMER. Is it not the best area of China?

Mr. HAAN. Principally the coastal area.

Mr. ELMER. Is that not the best area?

Mr. HAAN. Well, I think so.

Mr. ELMER. How much of an army do you think they have in there?

Mr. HAAN. Approximately 750,000.

Mr. ELMER. And how much of an army does the Generalissimo have to repel it?

Mr. HAAN. That I could not say. It would be based on the aid and the cooperation the United Nations will be able to give him.

Mr. ELMER. Well, just how much does he have; just your estimate of it?

Mr. HAAN. Well, I am told he has 3 million armed troops.

Mr. ELMER. Well, are there any of the Chinese in China helping Japan now?

Mr. HAAN. I think in some of the occupied area.

Mr. ELMER. Then, in the unoccupied area, how many are helping Japan?

Mr. HAAN. I do not think any.

Mr. ELMER. Are they taking any part in the war?

Mr. HAAN. Yes. Under the regime of the Chungking government.

Mr. ELMER. Well, now, this section that the Japanese have control of, is that the industrial section of China?

Mr. HAAN. Yes. Whatever industrial section it has, Japan perhaps took most of that.

Mr. ELMER. Most of that?

Mr. HAAN. Yes.

Mr. ELMER. Does it not look pretty blue to you in China?

Mr. HAAN. No; I am rather optimistic about the situation, except that I am blue in this sense, that the American people will suddenly realize that we unnecessarily sacrificed American lives to win this war.

Mr. ELMER. Well, outside of the American help, do you not think it would look pretty blue for them?

Mr. HAAN. Well, China has been blue for some time in the international sense, but they have always survived and I have great faith in the Chinese ability to survive, even if she has to move from Chungking.

Mr. ELMER. Well, her greatest weapon has been her absorption of the invaders; has it not?

Mr. HAAN. Yes; to a large degree; and her ability to hold on.

Mr. ELMER. And they are counting on that as much as they are on armaments; are they not?

Mr. HAAN. Well, I do not think we could interpret it to that degree. If they do have great means or sufficient arms they can repel the Japanese, unquestionably so. But to absorb the Japanese or the invaders, is only a problem when they will be able to crack, if the crack will come.

Mr. ELMER. Well, now, do you think the United States denying 107 Chinese coming in here a year would have any effect on the Chinese in defending their country?

Mr. HAAN. It has tremendous psychological effect and will have effect on the United Nations strategy.

Mr. ELMER. They never raised that question very strongly until they got into the war; did they?

Mr. HAAN. Well, I think it was based largely on American opinion; take the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, or American Labor; they are all opposed to it, not all on the ground of the racial sense, but largely opposed in the fear of economic competition; which, to me, is a far fetched fear, a rather far fetched fear, which does not exist in reality.

Mr. ELMER. It existed at one time; did it not?

Mr. HAAN. To what extent, sir?

Mr. ELMER. Well, I do not know.

Mr. HAAN. Just a small degree. That existence of racial-minority type of labor competition has always been in existence here and there as a local issue rather than a national one.

Mr. ELMER. Well, it existed sufficiently to cause the Congress of the United States to pass these laws 60 years ago.

Mr. HAAN. Well, largely due to the agitation of the local issues.

Mr. ELMER. Well, do you think all that past history of this country should be disregarded and then we should start in on a new plan now, like you have outlined here for this country and also for China?

Mr. HAAN. I believe the Declaration of Independence has given a pretty good idea, and the Constitution itself, to amend whatever law, based upon the circumstances and events—it gives the Congress all the rights to protect the security of America. When we say that all men are equal and admit that in the Declaration of Independence and also the Constitution, article V, gives the right to amendments.

The Congress can amend whatever they have passed, such as the Volstead Act, the prohibition law. During the last war it was their belief, but later on it was amended and then repealed.

As a war measure, let us do all we can to prove to the Chinese and to the millions of Orientals in the Far East that the United Nations and particularly America, is sincere in its effort to prove that we are with you; and after the war is over, if the situation so changes that it becomes a threat to the United States security, then I am sure that regardless of what the Congress did in the past, they will repeal that right away.

Mr. ELMER. Well, now, does that same rule apply to India?

Mr. HAAN. I think we are trying to deal with this as a war measure. If it is a war measure, why go ahead and bring in all the other issues?

Mr. ELMER. Well, do you not think that we have a war measure now between India and Great Britain? She is one of our war allies.

Mr. HAAN. I think India is a problem in which England must say more than we.

Mr. ELMER. Well, it affects us, too; does it not?

Mr. HAAN. Indirectly; but the minute you bring it out, you are trying to take the right of Great Britain's position on our shoulders.

Mr. ELMER. Well, do you want us to do the very same thing toward India as we are doing for the Chinese?

Mr. HAAN. If the exact situation arises as to the conduct of the war, then I say "Yes"; but I do not think the Indian question is involved in this country in the conduct of the war.

Mr. ELMER. If it does become so, you would have about the same position that you have now on the Chinese question?

Mr. HAAN. I agree with you, sir. The India question will never become a question in its relation to America.

Mr. ELMER. As far as I am concerned, you have a right to think anything you want to, sir.

Mr. HAAN. Well, I respect your opinion.

Mr. ELMER. I do, yours, too.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. McCOWEN. Do you think if this small quota is granted, that within a year or two perhaps they would want another increase, and then within another year or two another increase? And so on?

Mr. HAAN. I believe that is the prerogative of the Congress, not the wish of the Chinese Government.

Mr. McCOWEN. Yes; but that rather avoids my question.

Do you not think they would insist, just like they are now, on the first quota—will they not urge a further quota and then a still larger quota, and so on, if this first one were to be granted?

Mr. HAAN. I do not believe so. China needs America's help and cooperation now and later. Because of the great need of developing this country, as far as I can see, if one Chinese comes to this country today, there may be a thousand go to China instead, so therefore the needs for the Chinese to come into this country will be less than for Americans to go to China.

Mr. McCOWEN. There would not be anything to prevent their making the same urgent request from time to time?

Mr. HAAN. Well, let us be realistic. Just because a man urges does not mean we are going to grant it. The power is in the Congress.

Mr. McCOWEN. You are still avoiding the question; you are making a request here that we grant a certain quota, and I am asking if, in another year they might come along and want a larger quota, and then, in another year, a larger quota, and so on. There is no reason why they could not make a request.

Mr. HAAN. I do not think China is so foolish.

Mr. McCOWEN. Answer that question. There is no reason why they could not do that.

Mr. HAAN. No reason why you could not refuse.

The CHAIRMAN. What the Congressman means, they can ask for a million dollars.

Mr. HAAN. One can always ask, but the giving is the prerogative of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. For the purpose of the record, that asking would mean nothing, for the quotas are based on the census of 1890 and the Congress fixed a definite allocation.

Mr. McCOWEN. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. It has nothing to do with the outside world at all, what they want or what they do not want, because in 1924 there was discrimination against the southern part of Europe on the basis of the quota, but Congress nevertheless discriminated and gave the bulk of the quotas to the so-called Arctic races—so-called Nordic races.

Mr. McCOWEN. I understand that, but his answer has nothing to do with my question.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he has answered you.

Mr. McCOWEN. Not his answer. It is a precedent.

Mr. FISHER. In reference to that question, China has not asked for this quota, have they? That is, the Chinese Government?

Mr. HAAN. That I cannot say, sir. I do not know how the bill came about to be presented.

Mr. FISHER. Do you have any information on that?

Mr. HAAN. I have no particular information on that, on the procedure.

Mr. FISHER. They never asked for it.

Mr. McCOWEN. That is a good question.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

The book *How Japan Plans To Win* is received by the committee, without objection.

(Statement and memorandum are as follows: The book *How Japan Plans To Win* given to the committee clerk.)

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Judd, I have a number of witnesses here but since we do not have too much time they have agreed to file their statements instead of appearing before the committee.

Now, will you take the stand and if you want any more time I can give it to you tomorrow.

**STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER H. JUDD, MEMBER OF CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA**

Dr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, may I begin my remarks with a little review of the world situation America faces today.

There is no question but that our country, to say nothing of China, is in the most crucial hour in its whole history, and that the self-assurance and confidence with which we have always approached our problems is not wholly justified under present circumstances.

We are fighting a war on many fronts and we have to consider those fronts in terms of the situation, not as we wish it existed, but as it actually does exist.

We all know that the basic strategy adopted by our war leaders has been to attack in Europe, while holding in the Pacific, and we know that in order to win in Europe we must be able to hold in the Pacific, because if we had to divert large forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it would greatly jeopardize our position in Europe.

Now, there is no shred of evidence thus far to indicate that we can hold alone defensively in the Pacific.

And we have been able to win our few limited offensives there only because of the fact that our allies are tying up so much of Japan's strength.

We cannot hold alone in the Pacific. The only way we can succeed is if our allies hold until we can finish in Europe and get our full strength into the Pacific.

Our chief allies there, of course, are two. One is Russia and we know that her ability to keep an army in Siberia and tie up Japanese strength there is the equivalent of 500,000 extra American troops that would otherwise have to be used to offset those that Japan would be free to move against us.

The other ally and the one that I particularly want to consider, of course, is China.

China has been at war for almost 6 years; and all wars end. All wars have ended; and all wars will end, if for no other reason than sheer exhaustion; and the desperate situation of China today is one of approaching exhaustion.

First, there is hunger.

Japan seized in the early months of war a great deal of China's best land for growing the two main staples, rice and wheat.

In addition most of China's rail and water transportation system was in the coastal provinces.

The Japanese have been able to seize all but about a thousand miles of China's railways and control of the main rivers and canals.

So if the Chinese have good crops in one area the only way they can get food to a distant area of crop failure is for men to carry it. A Chinese will carry about 130 pounds of rice 30 miles a day; but he has to eat. By the time he gets there, he frequently will have eaten up his own rice; so the problem cannot be solved that way.

There has been a drought in Honan Province for 2 years. Over 5,000,000 have died of starvation and thousands more are likely to die in the next month before the harvest. It is the worst famine since 1922. In addition to the hunger for calories, is the hunger for vitamins. People may eat quantities of poor foods, but they are not satisfied. The reason is that the diet does not have certain vitamins which are not stored in the body. The ordinary way people have for getting vitamins is in their food; therefore, the body interprets the vitamin need as hunger for food. The morale sustaining vitamins, the vitamins that hold nerves steady, they have not been getting for years.

Thirdly, there is disease, and the inability to get drugs.

Tropical diseases caused more deaths of Americans in New Guinea than the Japanese did, despite the fact our soldiers had several times as many doctors per thousand as there are in the civilian population here, and 200 times as many per thousand as in this.

However, the situation is not quite that bad there because the weaklings have all been weeded out through centuries of rigid natural selection so that the Chinese are the toughest and most resistant people in the world physically and, even more important, emotionally. Nevertheless, they are breaking down because of the greatly increased amount of disease, and inability to get medicines and hospital supplies to treat their malaria, dysenteries, cholera, plague, typhoid, typhus, tuberculosis, and all the other things that are endemic.

Again, there is inflation. The rice which used to cost \$10, now costs up to \$3,600, even if there is any to be bought.

A great deal of the cargo going in to China by our airplanes has been paper money printed abroad, to keep the Chinese economy going.

In addition to all those things, the single most devastating factor is a beginning loss of hope; a loss of expectation that what they will eventually get from their efforts will be true freedom and equality; a loss of confidence in the real and ultimate motives of their allies.

Some of the reasons for their shaken faith are justified, and, I think, some are not; but certain facts inevitably seem to them to lead to such a conclusion.

First, if I may review just briefly a little history, the Chinese observed that America never made one real move against Japanese aggression until the Japanese invaded French Indochina. Only when they got into a white man's preserve did we ever put an embargo on any war materials to Japan or anything of that sort. Japan could occupy, loot, rape, burn, murder all she pleased in China. She condemned and protested—nothing more. Only when the white man's toes were stepped on, did he actually do anything. Can we be surprised if thoughtful Chinese wonder whether we really want or intend that China shall be free and independent?

Second, was our failure after so much big talk, to demonstrate much strength, from a military standpoint; our fiasco in Pearl Harbor, our being caught unware and unawake in the Philippines after 4 years of watching Japan move south, the incredible military debacles in Malaya, the East Indies, and Burma.

The Japanese had been trying for almost 5 years to whip China into submission by direct assault and could not succeed. Then they discovered that in comparison with the Chinese, the white man was a push-over. That it was easier to go clear around Malaya into Burma

and try by blockade to force China out of the war than it was to defeat the Chinese by direct assault. China has been able to hold out against frontal attack, but her western allies could not hold the southern flank.

Russia is holding hers on the north; but France, America, Britain, and Holland could not hold on the south. It is that blockade which drives China almost to exhaustion and despair.

China tried to give three of her best divisions to the British to defend Hong Kong from the land side 5 months before Pearl Harbor. The British guns on Hong Kong all pointed out to sea. Chinese knew the attack would come from the mainland, but her offer of troops was refused.

The Chinese begged the British to let Chinese forces come in and help defend Burma under British command. It was China's main source of oil. The Burma Road was her life line to the outside world. Her people had clawed it out of the mountain sides almost with their fingernails. Whatever it was or was not to England, it was almost life or death to China. But the British would not allow the Chinese troops to come in—they had more British troops on the Chinese border to keep the Chinese out than on the Thailand border to keep the Japanese out. When it became an international scandal they finally agreed to let 5,000 Chinese come in—but only one small unit at a time.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you know what reason the British gave for refusing to let the Chinese help?

Dr. JUDD. No, they have never given any reasons. I have always wondered myself whether after years of being top dog in the Far East, it was too great loss of face to take help from weak old China; or whether they thought the Chinese were just trying to get an army into Burma for taking over control later on; I do not know what the answer is. I suspect the latter. In any case they totally failed to understand their own weaknesses. They just could not believe they were so shaky. Nobody in Asia had been able in 200 years even to twist the British lion's tail, to say nothing of grabbing it by the tail and throwing it out of the Pacific.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you think if a Chinese Army had been permitted to come in there and fight, the situation might have been different?

Dr. JUDD. There is no question about it. Our own military people say that. It was unbelievable blindness; but we Americans cannot say too much. Their failure in Burma was certainly no worse than ours at Pearl Harbor.

In both cases it was largely due to inability to believe that these things could happen to us.

Naturally, China was astonished and shaken by the weakness of her allies against an enemy which she herself had been able to hold and even frequently to defeat.

A third disturbing thing was when Mr. Churchill last fall—within 10 days of the time we landed in north Africa and the allied prospects began to look up—came out before anyone else could make a suggestion as to what kind of world would follow victory and announced Tory Britain's war aims, "Lest anybody misunderstand, I want to make it perfectly clear that we are going to hold on to our own."

You have to give him credit, he is tough. He doesn't actually hold the cards today. We have most of the cards. He is putting up a gigantic bluff. By making his claims first, anybody else who comes along believing this war has something to do with human freedom,

even for Asiatics, is promptly accused of creating disunity among the Allies. We do not want to cause disunity so we keep silent on our ideas as to the purposes of this war.

Now the Chinese were not surprised at Mr. Churchill's statement. They are a wise and patient people. They knew he was not, at his age, going to change his basic ideas on empire—developed during the Kipling period in India.

They observed that, even as he spoke, other Englishmen were bringing out the Beveridge report. They know he is part of the great but dying dynasty of Tories, and they are banking on another England that is coming along.

The thing that did shake them was not what Churchill said; it was what we did not say. It was our silence in the face of his speeches declaring for reestablishment of the French and British Empires. They did not expect him to come over to our views; but on the other hand they did not expect us to go over to his views; did not expect that America, after standing for 167 years for one thing, human freedom, more than any other nation in history, would appear, by our silence, to be approving white men's empires in Asia. China wonders whether the white men really want China to win over Japan and become fully independent.

I do not say that is the fact, but that is the way it appears to many tired, starving, diseased, discouraged Chinese.

I believe it very important that we correct that impression quickly. And we do not have to have head-on collision with Churchill in order to make clear our war aims as far as China is concerned. We can take an action tangent to his but just as clear. We can prove by passing this bill to give China an immigration quota on the same basis as other friendly countries, that America stands for freedom and equality today as always. It could not create disunity among the Allies, or openly criticize any other nation's policy. But it would restore confidence. It would rekindle the fires of hope in the hearts of a billion Orientals who want to be with us, if they are sure it is for their freedom, too. It would invigorate and galvanize them into more active effort and resistance, as no amount of pronouncements or Atlantic Charters, or even of planes and guns, can do. It would be a deed, not just another word.

A fourth factor is our failure to make good on the President's promise 26 months ago, just after passage of the Lend-Lease Act. He said, "China asks our help, America has said that China shall have our help. The American people have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for China." But we have not found the way.

China could not understand the head of a great government making a statement like that unless he knew fully the logistics problems, and expected to make good, in spite of all the difficulties in transportation.

Twenty-six months, when you are starving, is a long, long time. No nation in the world but China, in my judgment, could have held on for so long.

She has remained steadfastly loyal to the United Nations, largely, I think, because of her great faith in America—because of our return of the Boxer indemnity; because of our giving a definite date to the Filipinos on which we will set them free, helping prepare them in the meantime, for their independence; because after 150 years as the

strongest Nation in the Western Hemisphere we have not used that power to make a single other nation, no matter how small, subject to us.

China has always had this profound, almost pathetic faith in America. She wants to continue to have it. But such factors as the above have made her begin to doubt.

There is such a thing as a breaking point. If, at this time of darkness, the Japanese should succeed in squeezing China still harder, and if America does not have anything more than further promises and only 2 percent of our lend-lease shipments to offer, I do not know how long China can go on almost alone.

To make sure that China holds until we can defeat Hitler and bring our full force to bear on Japan, we must do two things: We must get more material help to China, more guns, planes, tanks, gasoline, medicines, supplies, technicians, and so forth; and we must get more spiritual help, more to strengthen morale and faith. We all see the necessity of our taking the military offensive in the Pacific as soon as possible; we have not seen how necessary it is that we take and win the political offensive even more quickly.

I hope that from the present conference between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt there will come at least two things regarding Asia; they are just as important as disposition of troops. One is frank recognition that, just as Europe is primarily England's and Russia's war, and the Pacific is primarily our war, so Asia is primarily China's war.

Mr. Churchill, in a recent telegram, assured the Chinese that, as soon as possible, we would all be over and "rescue" them from Japan.

Now, may I suggest that the Chinese do not care to be "rescued" by anyone; just transferred from Japan's control to some other country's control. They have put more into this war than any other country to date. They want to and can win their own independence, if only we will give them help in their war comparable to the help they have been giving us in our war. They have been forced to wonder if help to them is being delayed until after Hitler is defeated so that the white man can come in and make the kill, and thus be left sitting on top again in Asia, including China—just the old status quo restored.

The second thing I hope for is some sort of a declaration of our war aims. It was a little hard for us to say much when we did not yet have a victory under our belts; but we have one now, a smashing one in north Africa, and I hope these two men who can use the English language as few in the world and who I am sure believe fundamentally in these principles, will produce a document that will be a rallying cry for the oppressed millions everywhere, that will assure the people of the world that this is, above all else, a war for human freedom.

George Washington had an almost impossible military problem. The Revolutionists were less than half of the people in the Colonies. He could not have succeeded in holding on till French help came if he had not had the Declaration of Independence to dominate the thinking and mobilize the emotions of the American people.

If something like that can come out of this conference, it will be worth 20 American divisions, because it will be more than any 20 American divisions under tropical conditions and diseases can hope to

do against Japan. The Chinese soldiers can live off the land. Ours cannot.

But this declaration from President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, if it comes, will not be enough.

The nations know Mr. Wilson once made some declarations and, whether wisely or unwisely, he was repudiated later by a Congress. Therefore, if when Mr. Roosevelt speaks, the world knows the Congress is behind him, he is the United States of America speaking; otherwise he is just one man, no more. The world waits to hear what Congress says about the purposes of this war in Asia.

It is not our job in Congress to direct the military offensives; it is ours to initiate and win the political offensive.

The Chinese can hold on another year by sheer force of will if they can believe that within the year there actually is going to be an attempt to help them gain their independence. Not just from Japan; from Europe, too.

The less military assistance we are able to get to them, the more imperative it is that we get to them these intangible things.

The less we are able to take the military offensive now, the more imperative it is that we win the political offensive quickly.

The most dramatic and helpful thing imaginable would be a removal by Congress of the discrimination in our immigration laws against the Chinese.

Almost every day we hear our colleagues in the House criticizing the administration because it does not do more for China and for the Pacific war. Well, here is a place where Congress itself can do something, immediately, and more effective than anything it is possible for the administration to do at present in a military way.

Now, what are the concrete things we might do in such legislation?

There are about eight possibilities from which the committee can choose the provisions which it considers most advisable; they range from the least to the most comprehensive.

The first, of course, is just to repeal the old exclusion laws passed between 1882 and 1914 which discriminated against the Chinese specifically. This would merely move the Chinese up to the level where the Japanese and other orientals have been.

The second would, in addition, allow Chinese immigrants to be admitted on the quota basis, regardless of other provisions of the law. About 107 a year could come into our country. They would, of course, have to meet all the regular individual requirements, such as literacy, freedom from disease, no moral turpitude, financial responsibility, so that none would be likely to become a public charge. As a matter of fact, have many Chinese in America ever been on relief rolls?

The third would, in addition, make Chinese eligible for citizenship. They would have to show they were legally admitted for permanent residence, declare their intention to become a citizen, then after proper intervals, take out first papers, second papers, and so forth. Only a handful of those in our country could qualify, because very few in the last 50 years have been admitted for permanent residence.

The fourth would be legislation to extend the same immigration and naturalization privileges on a quota basis to natives of all members

of the United Nations. That would mean an addition of only China and India to those already having such privileges.

I am merely naming them; not advocating, just here, any particular one.

The fifth would be legislation to extend the same as the above to natives of all co-belligerent or friendly countries. The Japanese would be excluded, not because of their race, but because of their nation's conduct, which is the basis on which they ought to be excluded. If some future Congress should perhaps decide they have developed a government which has proven itself a genuinely democratic and friendly nation for a long enough time to be trusted and worthy to be readmitted to the family of nations, it could extend them immigration privileges if it wished.

The sixth would add the assigning of a quota, perhaps fifty or a hundred, to each of the colonial systems in the Eastern Hemisphere. There are four: the British, the Dutch, the French, and the Portuguese.

Some have raised the question, If we remove the race barrier how about the Chinese, for example, in Hong Kong? If they were born there and therefore British citizens, could they not come in by the thousands under the British quota? No. To assign a definite quota to each of the colonial systems, including all its colonies, dependencies, mandates, dominions, or other possessions would prevent any such influx, would limit the total from all those under one flag to fifty or a hundred per year.

The Chinese born in Hong Kong could come in only under this special quota assigned to all the possessions of Britain, not under the British quota of 65,000; or they could come in under the Chinese quota of 10 percent.

Those Asiatics in Java would belong not to Holland's quota but to the special quota assigned to the Dutch possessions as a whole.

I would suggest a quota of 50 to each of these 4 main colonial systems, because that is the number assigned to the Philippines in their Independence Act.

Now, the seventh possibility could, in addition to the above, deal also with persons in the nonquota countries who are of races not indigenous to those countries. You know we at present have three groups of countries; (1) the quota countries of Europe, western Asia, and Africa, with quotas established, under the formula in section 11 of the Immigration Act of 1924, according to the number of persons in our country in the 1920 census attributable by birth or descent to the respective quota countries; (2) the nonquota countries of the Western Hemisphere whose native-born citizens can enter our country without limit as to numbers; and (3) those countries of eastern Asia whose natives are non-Caucasian, and therefore declared ineligible for citizenship and inadmissible as immigrants.

If those countries in the third group should be shifted to the first group by removing the racial barrier against non-Caucasians and putting them on the quota basis, could not persons of Chinese descent born in Brazil come in without limit as Brazilians? Not if this suggested provision were added to assign such persons to the quota of the country from which their immigrant ancestors came. Under it Chinese born in and citizens of Brazil would be allotted nevertheless to

China's quota. Persons of Japanese descent born in Peru would be considered as Japanese and since Japan would have no quota, not being a friendly country, these descendants of Japanese could not get in at all, no matter in what country they were born or of what country they are citizens.

A nonquota immigrant is defined in section 4 (c) of the 1924 act as "an immigrant who was born in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland," or one of the other independent countries of the Western Hemisphere.

May I suggest four possible formulas for amending section 4 (c) for determining to what country's quota an immigrant from a nonquota country would be assigned.

He could be defined as "an immigrant whose national origin is of a race indigenous to" the nonquota country, one of those in this hemisphere; or

He could be defined as "an immigrant whose nearest ancestor in the male line, living in or prior to 1880 (or some other designated year) was born in" the nonquota country; or

A proviso could be added to section 4 (c)—

Provided (1). That the nonquota provision is applicable only to an immigrant who is descended in the male line from the indigenous inhabitant of one of the countries mentioned herein, or from a person who immigrated to such a country prior to the year 1880, and provided (2) that one who is descended in the male line from a later immigrant shall be allocated to the quota determined by the place of birth of the latter;

or a proviso could be added:

Provided. That if the mother tongue of the alien is not that of the country in which he resides, he shall be charged to the quota of the country in which his paternal immigrant ancestor was born.

The committee could decide which of these formulas, or others, is most practicable and desirable. The objections raised by the American Federation of Labor would be fully met, because there would be no possibility of Asiatics getting in by using other Western Hemisphere countries as stepping stones. Any question of any economic problem arising from competition of oriental labor would be removed—because there would not be any oriental labor admitted directly or by any devious route. That much-feared bogey would no longer exist.

To make the picture complete, there is an eighth possibility. That would be to apply to immigrants from the quota countries of Europe, western Asia, and Africa, this same principle of charging an immigrant to the quota, not necessarily of the country in which he was born, but of the country from which his paternal immigrant ancestor came, the country to which he or the race to which he belongs is indigenous.

Thus, a person born in Mexico but whose father or grandfather came from Spain after 1880 would be assigned to the Spanish quota. A person born in Cuba, but whose paternal ancestor migrated to Cuba from China after 1880 would be assigned to the quota for China. A person who was born in England but whose paternal ancestor migrated to England from Poland after 1880 would be assigned to the quota for Poland.

For the first time in our history all persons in the world of all races would be on the same truly equitable basis as far as eligibility to enter our country is concerned, with the single exception of those

persons whose national origin by birth or ancestry is attributable to a country with which the United States is at war. The Japanese would be excluded not because of their race, but because of their conduct.

To those who fear that granting a quota to China might be just an entering wedge, the camel's nose under the tent, I suggest that they study this eighth plan. It lifts the tent door so the whole camel can be seen. And what does it amount to? If all cobelligerent and friendly nations were put on the quota basis, and quotas of 50 assigned to each of the 4 colonial systems, it would admit only 200 from the colonies, 100 from India and 107 from China—a grand total of 407 a year. This would get all of the skeletons out of the closet. There would be no further things that might happen, unless or until Korea, for example, became independent and received a quota of 50 or 100. Certainly England could not come and ask for more than her quota. And certainly China could not come and ask for more than her quota. This constant fear that somehow the immigration barriers were about to be torn down would be exposed and eliminated and we could see the total situation, everything out in the open.

We could thus remove all discrimination and stigmas from our immigration laws without increasing the total number of immigrants and by admitting less than 500 Asiatics per year.

I have been working on such a bill with assistance from several persons, but I did not have enough time, and I have not had enough experience, to be sure it was perfected. I have presented some of the formulas considered, as possible ways out of the difficulty.

It should be clear to all that we are trying not to remove our immigration barriers, but only to remove racial discrimination from those barriers.

Such legislation does not destroy the immigration laws; it improves them.

It does not abandon the principles on which our immigration laws have been based; it merely extends them.

In the meantime, the urgency of the world situation requires, I believe, that we grant a quota to the Chinese quickly, and thus start winning the political offensive at once.

Now, may I deal for a moment with some of the objections that have been raised.

To the question the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Allen, has several times brought up that this business of admitting the Chinese is perhaps just an entering wedge, 100 now, but that they may want 1,000 next year, and so on, I can give a categorical "No." The Chinese are not asking for any particular number. They are wanting to be treated as equals. That means being admitted as immigrants on the same basis as persons from other countries. If the formula which gives England 65,000, gave them only 1, that would still solve the problem. It is not that many want to come to this country; it is that they want the right for persons of their race to come. Chinese have not been people who go out and encroach on their neighbors. They have not been a migrating people. It is equality they want. And equality under the formula is 107.

Someone says, "Why is it that the Chinese are not coming protesting about these things? Does that not mean they are not interested in or concerned about the matter?" No; it means only that

the Chinese are proud. They will not come begging. They have been hurt all these years by the discrimination against those of their race quite as much as were the Japanese. But they would not degrade themselves by showing it, or by making a fuss about it. Just because others have bad international manners is no reason why they intend to forsake their manners.

Someone says it will do China a disservice to raise this question, to try to pass this legislation. But we are not raising it now. We raised it by our own laws beginning 40 years ago and Japan has been raising it constantly in China. This is, rather, the way to dispose of it. The greatest disservice to China and ourselves would be to try to ignore the problem.

That same argument was voiced at the Versailles Peace Conference. Japan asked for a clause in the League Covenant recognizing the principle of equality of races. America and England said they must not consent, because it would raise the race problem. Gentlemen, I submit it was the only way they could put down the race problem. The race problem was there. You cannot dispose of a cancer by turning your head in the other direction or by covering it up with a poultice.

The race problem is with us now. This is the way to solve it. Try to push it back under and you only get more pressure in the volcano until it explodes.

This will not be a race war, unless we make it so. If it were a race war China would be fighting with Japan against us, not with us against Japan. There never will be a war between the white and colored races, if only we keep the largest and strongest of them, the Chinese, with us. Is there any business before this Congress more important than taking every possible step to make sure the Chinese stay with us, now and in the decades and centuries ahead. There is no more powerful step we can take immediately than to remove the racial stigma in our immigration laws.

If the Chinese or the Japanese had been excluded on an economic basis, they would not have objected; they resented being excluded on a racial basis, the pigment in their skin. They rightly resented being branded as biologically inferior.

You remember that in 1924 when this matter was up, the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Hanihara, very unwisely, said that if we passed the exclusion law, there would be "grave consequences." Well, we thumbed our noses at him then and passed it; but I must remind you that there have indeed been grave consequences. American soldiers die by the thousands as a result. We are paying dearly for our neglect of the warning that there was dynamite in the business of placing a racial stigma on any people if we wished to remain at peace with them, to say nothing of wanting them to remain our friends, even our allies. Shall we continue to ignore warnings?

The Chinese all these years have held loyally to us, and they want to continue to hold to us. They will be one of our best and most faithful friends; but you cannot expect to insult a friend indefinitely and then make it all right just by giving him financial or military support, no matter how abundant. Nor can you escape the disastrous consequences that are inevitable in the long run.

Some one says it will disrupt our economy. I do not quite see how admitting 107 selected Chinese immigrants a year could upset America

seriously; but if it did, it certainly could not do so as badly as a war every 25 years—and that is the alternative.

I cannot but speak strongly on this point. I lived in the Far East in the midst of this problem for 10 years and it is not because I want to give America away that I urge us to pass a bill to accomplish this thing; it is because I want to save America.

It is not that I want to get my country into trouble; it is only because I want to get, and keep, her out of trouble that I plead that we take such action, and quickly.

Someone has said that China is communistic. I want to say this, I was in the midst of the Chinese Communists for 8 months in 1930 as a semiprisoner. They were red hot in those days when communism was still new. But it soon lost most of its hold because basic communism is far more opposed to the fundamental ideas of the Chinese than it is to those of most Americans. There is less danger of a free China becoming communistic than there is of America becoming communistic, especially if we have another war or two.

But just where can China turn save to Russia, or Japan, if America does not treat the Chinese on the same basis as other peoples?

The Russians were smart after the last war. They said to the Chinese, "We know what it is to be downtrodden. We voluntarily give up our concessions in China. We give up extraterritoriality. We put our Russian citizens under Chinese law." That was 25 years ago. America gave hers up only last January; when as a matter of fact we no longer had it to give up.

And China held America as her No. 1 friend in spite of the fact that America would not treat her as well as Russia did and also supplied the Japanese with war materials for 4 years.

The amazing thing is that the Chinese were able to keep their head and adhere steadfastly to their basic allegiance to democracy.

That is because the Chinese do not go off half-cocked; they have poise and stability, and they have historical perspective.

Someone said here, "How can a law passed by us affect Japanese propaganda? Well, it cannot affect Japanese propaganda, but it can affect whether the Chinese believe the Japanese propaganda or not.

If they know it is no longer justified, then they will laugh at that propaganda. As long as they know it is based not on lies but on sober fact, how can we expect them not to believe it?

In summary, I think this legislation, in whatever form the committee in its wisdom, decide is the best way to remove the stigma and at the same time check loop holes that might allow Oriental laborers to come in that would be harmful to American standards of wages and living, should be passed for four main reasons.

First, for legal reasons. We passed these acts in the first place beginning in 1882 in violation of a treaty which we had with China promising her most-favored-nation treatment. That should be corrected.

Second, for moral reasons. Perhaps the biggest question we Americans have today is to think through what we really believe.

Do we really believe, in our generation, that all men are created equal in rights before the law, to be judged on the basis of what they are, or are not, as individual human beings, not by the race to which they belong? Do we believe there are certain inalienable human rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

If we do not, then, of course, as Pearl Buck has said, we are on the wrong side in this war; we belong on Hitler's side. But if we do believe it, then we ought to say so in words and in deeds. We ought to make it clear to the whole world—and quickly.

For it is conceivable Japan might finally wake up and set out to win the political offensive herself. All she needs to do is to start treating the Chinese and other Asiatics better than we treat them. There are many indications she is learning that fact. Where their aeroplanes used to drop bombs on Chinese cities, they frequently fly over, dip their wings, and drop food and pamphlets.

We cannot gamble our whole venture on the assumption that no matter how many mistakes we make, the enemy will make even more and worse ones. Thus far Japan has been incredibly foolish. She could have had the Chinese on her side. She could have led Asia. She cannot drive it any more than we can. Thus far, the Japanese have been even less astute than we, but we cannot assume that they will forever continue to make these wrong moves. There is a lot of evidence to indicate they are beginning to be smart enough to try to win the political offensive before we wake up. It is too precarious to wait until after the war to deal with this issue. Because without China, we have absolutely no assurance we can and will win the war. The risk in waiting is too great.

Third, economic reasons. Someone frequently says we have to reserve the American market for the American farmer. But unfortunately the American market is not enough for the American farmer. We say we must protect American industry for American labor; but American industry is not enough for American labor.

We have built up an industry here to produce for ourselves and for Europe, and in a lesser degree for Asia. When they get through fighting over there they will not have to buy so much from us, and we will be left with enormously overbuilt productive capacity, agricultural and industrial. We must either scrap the surplus capacity or find new markets. And there are only two places to find new markets, at home and abroad.

After all our wars, save the last one, the demobilized soldier could go out into new undeveloped country to get a start, perhaps take a homestead; after the World War there was no undeveloped West or undeveloped South to which idle men and idle dollars could go. Therefore we had unemployment and depression for 10 years when it finally caught up with us.

What about after this war?

China, if free and friendly, will have tremendous needs for technical assistance, new developments and industries, engineering, machinery, roads, railways, and so forth. To have the inside track in helping develop the tremendous markets of Asia, and in helping satisfy those markets, can come nearer to being to us after this war what our own West was after the previous wars, than any other place in the world.

From an economic standpoint, to do everything we can to prove our friendship for China is not starry-eyed sentimentalism and idealism; it is good hard sense.

And the fourth reason is the matter of our own security. If we do not consider legal or moral or economic reasons, then a decent instinct of self-preservation requires, it seems to me, that we remove every possible sore spot in our relations with China.

Our open-door policy in China for almost half a century was based on the fact that the great stabilizing bulwark in Asia was China. There were only two nations there that could possibly threaten us. One was Japan; one was Russia. Neither could move in our direction if on its flank or in its rear was a strong, friendly, independent China. For decades we did not have a large Pacific Navy because we did not need a Pacific Navy as long as China was strong, friendly, and independent. After the last war we wanted to spend our money for roads, schools, cars, not for a Navy. So we signed the Nine Power Pact to try to insure a strong independent China. All our real statesmen for 50 years of whichever party have recognized that of the two, a great Pacific Navy or an independent China, the latter was the better guaranty of American security in the Pacific, especially if the Navy should happen not to be on the alert some Sunday morning.

If we were not going to build a great Navy, then we had to have a strong China. If we were going to make money out of helping Japan destroy China, then we had to have a great Navy. What did we do? We scrapped our two-ocean Navy in 1922, and then helped Japan destroy China; left ourselves defenseless in the Pacific. It was incredible.

Much as we will need China now to win the war, we will need her still more to help establish and maintain a decent peace. I think we are going to win the war because our country is like a patient who has such a strong constitution that the doctors can do almost all the wrong things and the patient will still survive. I think we are going to win this war; but we cannot stand another one.

We are going to be relatively weaker after this war. Only 140,000,000 of us, and there are 200,000,000 in Russia who are afire with an idea; 450,000,000 in China who are just awakening and are becoming increasingly devoted to the same idea our forefathers had in 1776—freedom; 390,000,000 stirring in India; 150,000,000 in South America.

America after this war is going to need friends badly. We are exhausting our resources—iron, oil, lead, zinc, copper, and so forth. We are going to have to have allies from which to get them next time; we certainly cannot win another next war alone. We can survive, we can exist alone, but we cannot maintain our high standard of living or the sort of society we are fighting for now. Permanent restrictions such as we accept for a time in war would surely lead to revolution.

Yes, we are going to need friends if we do not want to remain permanently militarized. But if we have on that side a strong, independent, friendly China, and a strong democratic America on this side, then the Pacific will be pacific. If not, it will be Europeanized and the source of wars and more wars.

I ask in conclusion, where else can we get so great a return for so small an investment?

By granting China equality, that is a quota of 107 a year, America will be getting the equivalent of at least 20 extra American divisions now, and after the war, assurance of a real partnership in peace in the Pacific.

Those who think we can continue to leave as it is a statute which is an insult to our friends, and not eventually suffer for it, I believe, are grievously mistaken.

We can have our prejudices, or our sons. If we must have our prejudices now, then I am compelled, out of concern for my country to warn that we cannot escape sending out our sons to die later.

There will be no use crying then. It will be too late.

May I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the committee for the courtesy you have extended me.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Judd, I think we owe you thanks for your splendid presentation of these facts. I wish more of us were here to hear you. There is no question but what your argument is sound.

But the program that you laid out might be very sound and should probably be carried out, and the only way to do that—now we are talking about the post-war situation—is for this committee, which has been trying for the last year, to obtain some authority to study this question so that we could present a report to the Congress dealing with the questions involved.

When we got on the floor, certain groups on the floor voted us down by 2 to 1; all we could muster was one-hundred-and-some-odd votes against 220.

One of the purposes of the resolution was to get authority so that we might sit as subcommittees or as a whole, and study this whole situation. The House did not seem to think it worth while to make such a study.

I hope in the near future, with men like yourself in Congress, and other good men of this committee, that we may be able to bring about a program that will do that very thing; but first we have to understand it and study it. You are too well versed on this question and I do not think there is anybody who can answer these arguments.

Dr. JUDD. The only reason I did not put in a bill myself was because I was not sure of just which formula was best. I did not want to go off half-cocked.

The CHAIRMAN. It is my view now, in view of the testimony that has been presented to this committee, that we ought to at least do something for China.

Dr. JUDD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Bearing in mind your statement and other testimony that has been given here, it seems to me that we should bring this problem of the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law before Congress and let the whole membership of the House decide the issue. After all, we are just 21 Members, and our colleagues ought to be given a chance to consider a problem of such paramount importance.

As you said, there would only be about 500 or 600, and probably 80 percent of them would never come into this country—even if your program for all of Asia were followed.

We have provided for the independence of the Filipinos. They have been clamoring for independence. We would give them their independence—I mean, if there was no war they would be going along very nicely and we fixed a quota of 50.

Mr. Commissioner, how many will come in?

Mr. SHAUGHNESSY. I could not say, offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. My information is that hardly any of them came to this country. In other words, they felt they were equals and that we were treating them on the basis of equality.

Now, confining ourselves to this question at present, do you think any harm could come to our country if we were to fix a quota for

China, who is one of our important allies, not only an ally in war but, we hope, an ally in peace—do you think that this step would remove the stigma that they have so much grieved about for all these years?

Dr. JUDD. I can see no possible harm. And I am sure of enormous benefit. When I had an opportunity to appear before the committee previously in connection with another bill, I stated that I thought that a comprehensive overhauling of our immigration laws to remove all racial discrimination was better, if it could be done, than to alter them by patchwork such as a bill applying only to the Chinese would be.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the record will be printed and our colleagues on the floor will have an opportunity to read all the testimony.

Dr. JUDD. I would say one further thing. I think you are probably right, that this is probably all we could take at one bite, but an overall program such as I have outlined is, I believe, the best way to answer the objections to the 107 quota for China, to remove all fears by showing that a total settlement contains no risks. At present we are straining at the hypothetical gnat of what might happen if we granted a quota to China while swallowing the camel of what is happening right now to China's morale while we debate and delay.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had a very, very hard task regarding this problem, because some of the people are prejudiced, some of the people do not understand. It is pretty difficult to make them understand that the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws is to the best interest of our country.

I think at the present time, until this committee has an opportunity to study the question under a rule of the House, or under a mandate of the House, so that when we bring back a report it will have some effect—I think that is the policy this committee ought to pursue.

As to H. R. 1882, the committee may have to write its own bill dealing with the repeal of the Chinese exclusion acts, removing the restriction as to China, but safeguarding the American people in all possible ways. A lot of the objections could be met in a more carefully drawn bill.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, I greatly appreciate your statement because I believe you have been perhaps the only witness who has frankly stated the bigness, shall I say, of the proposal facing us.

I think it is your opinion that it is an oriental question, not a Chinese, not a Korean, and not a Japanese question, but an oriental question.

In other words, for 61 years we have had a wall against orientals. Part of that wall was pointed at the Chinese.

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, is it your feeling that that wall—that the finger pointed at the Chinese, by all means, ought to be done away with?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, sir; because there are certain humiliating gestures against the Chinese that were not against the other orientals.

Mr. ALLEN. That is right. Now, there is the general law that was directed against all orientals, and I have not thought, and I do not think that you believe, that you could deal with the Chinese question and call it a day.

Dr. JUDD. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, I was very much interested in a statement regarding—you did not say the Chinese psychology, but I think that is what you meant, and I think that same idea has been brought out here by other witnesses—and am I correct in saying that the Chinese psychology is such that while they want our help, they do not want us to come in and win the war and perhaps crow about it, but they want to feel that they did something?

Dr. JUDD. Yes; it is natural and human that they feel that way. But more important, they are afraid that if the white man came in and won the war, he would stay there sitting in the saddle. They want China to be free.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, they want to assert their national pride?

Dr. JUDD. They want to be free.

Mr. ALLEN. I believe you stated before that the Chinese were really a proud people.

Dr. JUDD. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN. A dignified and proud people; is that right?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, and properly so. They have a long heritage and high culture. If any American is inflated with a sense of his own importance and profound wisdom, it would be a good idea for him to go and study Chinese literature and he would come down to earth.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, back to the Chinese exclusion laws proper, which are embraced in the two bills by the chairman of the committee, I understand that his two bills ought to eliminate—or repeal, rather—the Chinese exclusion laws proper.

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, is it your opinion that if those bills should pass and if those acts going back to 1882, which specifically named China and pointed the finger at China, were repealed, that that would help the situation over there and help the psychology?

Dr. JUDD. Not appreciably. I think, sir, today, that would only be rubbing a little salt into the wounds, because there still is the 1924 act that all non-Caucasians are ineligible for citizenship.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, now, you said that if we just made a quota of one, why, it would soothe the Chinese feelings, in effect.

Dr. JUDD. It is not the size of it; it is the fact that they are put on the same basis with the other nations. That is the point. If the formula by which the quotas of other nations are determined gave only 1 or 10 to the Chinese, it would solve the problem just as much as 107 or 1,000. It would give equality of treatment.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, all right. Would it have the same effect if we were to pick out some good Chinese who is already here and is now ineligible under the present law, and grant him citizenship?

Dr. JUDD. Well, as a matter of fact, the chances are that most of the 107 quota would be taken up year by year with the people who are already living here. I would have to ask Mr. Shaughnessy on that.

Mr. ALLEN. Of course we all know they cannot come here now; we cannot get there and they cannot get here, anyway.

Dr. JUDD. No.

Mr. ALLEN. So, as a matter of fact—it has often been said here that each one of these laws is just a gesture.

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. And so far as actual results are concerned, that is true, is it not?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, but a gesture that sort of full salutes here and half salutes there is rather a lean gesture.

There is no harm that I can imagine from the total that may come in which would be 107—under existing law the minimum for a country has always been 100. It seems to me there would not be enough gain in reducing the quota below that to justify the discrimination it would involve. Make it perfectly equal. The price is so infinitesimal.

Mr. ALLEN. May I ask this question, Doctor?

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. Do not answer it if you prefer not to. You mentioned Hong Kong. Are you not of the opinion that that is going to be a very sore thumb at the peace conference?

Dr. JUDD. No question about it. And yet a very high Britisher told me a few weeks ago—illustrating their psychology, too, "We do not want Hong Kong so much as we want to be recognized as having a right to Hong Kong. If we are recognized as having a right to Hong Kong, then we will give it back to the Chinese."

It is that same psychology of face, as all peoples have.

A gentleman said here this morning that all the Chinese want is help and supplies. You see he himself already has freedom and equality. He takes them for granted. He has forgotten what it is like not to have freedom, to have discrimination. It is the thing you do not have that you want most of all.

Mr. ELMER. That is what the Japanese want, is it not? To control Asia?

Dr. JUDD. They thought they had to control Asia to get recognition from the West. I do not think they would have gone down south if they had had recognition. They felt that the only language the Westerner understood was power; therefore to get the recognition that would not come on the basis of justice, they had to go into this military venture.

Our forefathers came here because of the freedom they did not have and which they wanted. That is one of the greatest urges of the human spirit, to be treated as an equal.

Mr. ALLEN. Doctor, you know the Chinese pretty well, and you would not say, would you, that their status in this war is so flimsy that our action would have very much to do with their action over there, one way or the other? Would you?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, sir; I say it has a great deal to do. I am sure the Chinese will hold on so long as they have hope. It will be much harder if they lose faith in our purposes toward them.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, you do not mean to tell the committee that China, as we say down South, would quit the drive unless Congress makes this empty gesture?

Dr. JUDD. No; I do not think she would. But I want to make doubly sure. It is like taking out insurance. I hope my house will not burn down, but it is nice to have some insurance, if perchance it does.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, China is not going to stand or fall over this question.

Dr. JUDD. It might be; yes, sir. Because, although General Chiang Kai-shek and Mme Chiang Kai-shek will not go over to

the enemy, still they can be forced to end effective resistance even though there would be no formal capitulation. And you see, the Japanese are in there handing out food, and they say, "What was General Chiang Kai-shek able to get for you from the democracies? When did they ever make a concession to men of another color except as it was wrested from them by force of arms? That is the only language the white man understands, not justice, but force."

And the Chinese puppets say, "Here you are, starving to death, and we can all get food by going in with Japan. Then Japan will fight it out with America and America will probably defeat Japan eventually; and then we Chinese will get our independence back automatically. We held the line for years while America made the money. Why not let America hold the line for a little while?" It is a powerful argument.

In other words, the Chinese could turn on us the same sort of argument that Americans used before the war. Why not think of their own country first? Why pull our chestnuts, or England's, out of the fire?

Now, General Chiang Kai-shek won't say that. Chiang will stay with us to the limit. But he needs to be able to show concrete results to his people, that under his leadership recognition for China is coming from America. We ought to hold up his hands. I do not say they will get out of the war if we do not grant them equal treatment, because they are a very strong people; but there is a chance that they will. I can assure you, however, that they won't give up if we take an action like this, which as you see changes the whole character of the war for them. It becomes a war out of which they are to come independent and free. That is certainly a far greater incentive than if they are still going to be treated as a second-rate nation.

Mr. BENNETT. At that point, if I understood you correctly in your statement, you said China is breaking. You named four things: You said lack of medicine, disease, inflation, and hunger.

Dr. JUDD. And break-down of transportation, loss of factories.

Mr. BENNETT. Did I understand you incorrectly to say that China did not want any help from us?

Dr. JUDD. Oh, no; China is begging for help.

Mr. BENNETT. That is the most important thing at the moment, to alleviate these four things?

Dr. JUDD. That is half of it, and I think the more important half. It is like your wife; you have to give her food, but you have to give her flowers, too, if you really want to have a happy family.

Mr. BENNETT. Is it not something like this: Here is a poor Chinese on the verge of starvation. You say, "I do not have any food; it is over in America, but I will go to the Congress and get them to pass a law permitting your grandchild to come into the United States some of these days."

Now, do you think that my telling that Chinese when he is on the verge of starvation that I am going to pass a law, that is going to make him feel any better?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, indeed; it is going to make him feel enormously better if at the same time we are trying to get things there, we also recognize that this is a war for human freedom; then those two things, together, are an unbeatable combination.

Mr. BENNETT. But it would not keep him alive any longer.

Mr. JUDD. No, but men have died for freedom all through history.

We gave them \$500,000,000 after the beginning of the war and it was a good thing; it bolstered them up. On their last Independence Day, October 10, we announced that we were going to give up the unequal treaties and that gave them another lift. It also gave the Chinese Government lots of face and strengthened it with its people. During this next monsoon season, during the next 6 months, when we cannot get much material help to them, this proposed legislation is the best substitute. We cannot get adequate help there yet, but action by Congress would assure them that we are trying our best.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, if they feel we are trying our best, is that not enough?

Mr. JUDD. Yes, but they cannot feel we are trying our best when we refuse to treat their country as an equal. Our trying our best to get materials to them does not do what this other does.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think there is any doubt, in the Chinese mind, as a whole, that we are a friend of theirs in this war effort?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, the Chinese still feel that we are their friends. Otherwise they would have gone the other way, with Japan. But it is because of the distant past, and in spite of the more recent past. Why do we put such tests upon her friendship?

Mr. BENNETT. But when we change a law like this, we are changing our policies.

Dr. JUDD. Well, I think the policy was a mistake. We ought to change it. It got us into war with Japan.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, if that is a mistake, we are not curing the situation by passing this law on the terms you suggest.

Dr. JUDD. I think it does cure it.

Mr. BENNETT. We are letting in more than 107 Chinese. They have 450 million people. The only reason we can let in 107 is because we have been wrong, you say, in our policy for the last 60 years. If we had let in 107 Chinese for the last 60 years and then passed this law, they would probably have 10,000 to come in.

Mr. JUDD. No. It was figured at first on the basis of 1890 census, and that is where we get the figure 107. I am not opposed to the quota policy. I am opposed to putting some people on a quota and excluding others on a racial basis.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think it is well to let them come in at the rate of 107 and then let some of the others come in at the rate of 65,000?

Dr. JUDD. Yes. The quota principle was based on the desire to keep the United States predominantly of the peoples which founded it. I think that is a wise policy. It is only that part which excluded some groups irrevocably that I think was unwise.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, suppose we were not at war? Would you feel the same?

Dr. JUDD. I would feel exactly the same. I think it is only more urgent now; the stakes are higher and more immediate.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think it would be economically wise to take in 10,000 Chinese or other orientals in here every year?

Dr. JUDD. No.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, then, it gets down to a matter of degree. You say it is safe to let in a few.

Dr. JUDD. It is a matter of equality. All they are entitled to is 107; that is all they ask—to be on the same basis as other countries.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, they are not on the basis because we have kept them out. And that is why they do not have so many in here as these other countries.

Dr. JUDD. Well, 107 a year—

Mr. BENNETT. No. I mean when this quota law was passed, if, from the beginning we had let them come in, they would have more than they have.

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. Consequently their quota rate would be higher.

Dr. JUDD. But no one has suggested they should have been coming in ad lib all these 60 years. I am maintaining they should have been granted a quota in 1924 when other nations were granted theirs. If a man had malaria 60 years ago and we used quinine, that was the right thing for that disease; but now the man has pneumonia, and the right treatment is not quinine but sulfadiazine. The situation now is different from then. There were thousands on the Pacific coast, brought here by ourselves; there was a real problem. The Chinese did not much protest then because they recognized it. But today China is an ally and we ourselves, I believe, ought to correct the situation. As of today, it would cost us so little.

Mr. BENNETT. You mentioned now about this propaganda. We pass this bill that lets in 107 Chinese. Do you not think the Japanese are going to say, "You have 450 millions and the Americans are so big-hearted they are going to let 107 in?"

Is that not a big argument?

Dr. JUDD. No. We will have put them for the first time, on the same basis as the European countries. That overshadows any other consideration.

Mr. BENNETT. They are not on the same basis.

Dr. JUDD. Yes, they are. The 107 for China is arrived at by the same process as the 65,000 for the British.

Mr. BENNETT. But you say it would not be safe to let 10,000 in from now on?

Dr. JUDD. It would not be wise.

Mr. BENNETT. Why would you not?

Dr. JUDD. Because that might create an economic problem. If we had excluded them for an economic reason, there would have been no objection.

I tried to give you some formulas here which I thought would plug the loopholes so that nobody outside the quota could come in some other way because I agree wholly with your proposition that it would be unwise to have large numbers of them here, or large numbers of us over there.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, we are opening up the proposition when we abolish the exclusion law itself. There is nothing to stop this Congress, or any other Congress, from changing the quota law.

Dr. JUDD. Just as there is no way to stop it from changing any other law, whenever it deems it advisable.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, in my view, the question is involved in this basic idea. You say it is wise to let in 107 Chinese but unwise to let in 10,000, so it is a matter of degree.

Dr. JUDD. No; it is all right to let them in when the amount is so small. If the quota basis would allow 10,000 Chinese, then I would be opposed and seek another formula. But here is a situation where actually to correct the situation means not 10,000 but only 107.

Mr. BENNETT. But what worries me, when you get the thing down to a question of a degree, then you have reopened a question that has been settled on a policy for 60 years.

Mr. LESINSKI. Dr. Judd, I can answer that question. The quota laws have been changed three times, and, always downward, not upward.

Mr. BENNETT. When you pass this, you are taking a step that never has been taken.

Mr. LESINSKI. But it has always gone downward, not upward.

Dr. JUDD. It is conceivable that 25 years from now Congress would decide that Japan had become so friendly that it would let them in on a quota. I doubt that it would, but of course, it could.

Here is a case where we are trying to win a war and we are sacrificing American lives through failure to mobilize fully the will and the resources of our own allies.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I have yet—I hate to see this question of exclusion made a war measure.

Dr. JUDD. I do not. The situation is there. We will not have peace in the Pacific until we correct it. Surely self-preservation is an urgent and proper motive. There is no objection to adding that one more reason, is there?

We are doing things every day because of the war situation, that were never done before.

Mr. BENNETT. That is true but what I mean is why make the passage of this bill a war issue. Tying it up with the war is a thing that I do not understand.

Dr. JUDD. The war is just one of several reasons, to me. To some, it is the whole reason. It does not cost us anything important and would do an ally a great deal of good. But to me the war is not the sole reason. China's cooperation and good-will in the peace is just as essential.

Mr. ELMER. You know, 25 years ago we were allied with Japan. Did you ever read that history as published by that Englishman who said, "We now have an ally in the Pacific who will ever be our friend, and we can dominate the Pacific area through that country."

Now, you can see where we are today. We were such good friends to them that we sent them everything they wanted and would not deny them anything, and they took it over there and they killed Chinese with it and now they are shooting them back at us.

I do not think we can trust any foreign nation or any foreign people.

Dr. JUDD. The fact remains that America cannot live by herself alone.

Mr. ELMER. Yes, we can; we have, for 150 years, and have made a pretty good success of it.

Dr. JUDD. But we have invented the steamboat and the airplane and many other things, and you know if China quits we could not win the war in the Pacific.

Mr. ELMER. China is just as apt to quit in 2 weeks as we are apt to be sitting around this table.

Mr. McCOWEN. I do not think that is a good statement.

Dr. JUDD. Just how would you go about it to beat Japan if we did not have China as a base?

Mr. ELMER. Well, time would decide that. You made the statement you would not object to 107.

Dr. JUDD. Yes.

Mr. ELMER. And then a little later you said if it were 40,000 you would not have any objection; did you not?

Dr. JUDD. No; I did not say any such thing as that.

Mr. BENNETT. No; I do not think he said that.

Mr. ELMER. Then I did not understand you.

Mr. BENNETT. But you agree with this, Doctor; we are in a war, and the sympathies of people and the prejudices of people necessarily are at the highest point.

Dr. JUDD. That is right.

Mr. BENNETT. Now, do you think during war time is the time to consider the changing of a policy we have had for 60 years? You don't think this would be better settled, as some witness testified, at the peace conference?

Dr. JUDD. No.

Mr. BENNETT. I do not mean the peace conference to settle it, but do you not think that is the time?

Dr. JUDD. Well, if you are sure we are going to have a peace table, but how are we going to win if we lose 450,000,000 Chinese allies, and China as a base?

Mr. BENNETT. You remember in the last war that people passed the prohibition law and the criticism was that we took an important step while our men in the service were away.

Now, we are going to have fellows fighting over there in China and all over the world. Do you not think Congress ought to wait until those fellows come back and see what they have to say about it?

Dr. JUDD. No; because I think we are playing too close a game. The odds are too uncertain to be willing to take such a gamble.

The amazing thing is that the Chinese have kept their steadiness all these years. You cannot be sure it will last forever.

What they ask is not charity or special concessions, but treatment on the same basis as we treat out other neighbors; and it so happens that the risk of giving them equality of treatment is infinitesimal from the standpoint of our country, whereas the risk in going on as we are is gigantic, the same as it was in 1924. We can see now what the 1924 act led to, the loss of thousands of our youth and a war program which is almost bankrupting us.

Mr. BENNETT. You do not think the war is caused by this exclusion?

Dr. JUDD. Yes; I think it is the major reason for our having this war with Japan. She had full access to the materials and the markets of the world. Some of her ablest industrialists and financiers were assassinated by the military because they warned that war would only aggravate Japan's economic problems, not cure them.

The single, most important cause for our being at war with Japan is the Exclusion Act of 1924. I say that with considered care.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think if we had admitted the Japanese on a quota of 100 or 150 a year there would be no war now?

Dr. JUDD. I do. The quota for Japan would have been 185. To refuse it we played unwittingly into the hands of their military

clique. We undermined the genuine liberals of Japan, who were very friendly to us. The militarists would say to them, "America rewards you sentimental liberals by passing an exclusion act. The only thing she understands is power." Therefore all true Japanese must support our military expansion."

Mr. BENNETT. Well, do you think the fact that we excluded the Japanese is the reason they attacked the Chinese?

Dr. JUDD. Yes; they did not want China for itself, because seizing China did not solve any problem. China was merely first base. Japan had to have Chinese manpower, resources, Chinese bases on the continent from which to proceed to second base, which the Army defined as continental expansion; all of Siberia east of Lake Baikal. Then the Japanese Navy was to go to third base, oceanic expansion, all of Malaysia and the islands in the western half of the Pacific, including Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand. Then where was home base? Why America, of course. Where else could it be?

Japan's goal has always been to get vengeance on America, to make us take back the insult in our racial humiliation of her. And she had to attack China as the first step toward conquering America. She dared not leave a strong China, friendly to America, in her rear.

Mr. ELMER. What have we over there that is worth fighting for?

Dr. JUDD. We do not have anything over there that is worth fighting for.

Mr. ELMER. Then why are we fighting them?

Dr. JUDD. Because what we have over here is worth fighting for. And the only way we can save what we have here is by winning there. If you make a settlement today, Japan has China and Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies. She has won the war.

Mr. ELMER. With our help.

Dr. JUDD. All she has to do then is to build an industrial machine on slave labor. She will not need to send battleships or bombers. She can deal us more deadly blows with her price quotations. America's trade will be gone. We will have permanent militarization, steadily falling standards of living, poverty, strikes, disorders, revolution, some sort of totalitarian rule. To persuade us we have no stake in Asia and accept a stalemate is the biggest victory Japan could win. It would mean a total and complete defeat of America within 50 years.

Mr. BENNETT. This exclusion has so much to do with Japan starting the war—if so, why did they not make that more of an issue with our State Department?

Dr. JUDD. They did.

Mr. BENNETT. That may be so, but do you think it would have averted the war if we had let in a hundred or so?

Dr. JUDD. Yes, if we had done it since 1924. No, if only in the last 5 years. That would have been too late. Japan has kept a nice face to the West as a front, but since the Tokyo military revolt in 1936 Japan's militarists have devoted themselves to conquest by force. Since then there was no chance to change it except by force, economic or military. When we refused to resist by economic force, we thereby chose military force.

Mr. BENNETT. And you base that on our exclusion policy?

Dr. JUDD. I say the single biggest reason that drove the Japanese into the hands of the militarists was that. Japan was coming along in a democratic way and was orienting herself with the democracies.

Mr. ELMER. Do you think we should have come along after the war like you are advocating for the Chinese?

Dr. JUDD. I think we should have put the Japanese on a quota basis in 1924. It could not possibly have cost us as much to have let 185 in per year, as to have this war with them.

Mr. ELMER. Well, all we have in here now we are having trouble with, bringing them down here and interning them.

Dr. JUDD. They did not have that trouble in the Hawaiian Islands. They are 39 percent of the population. There has not been a single proven case of sabotage by them in Hawaii, and three of them have been decorated for especial heroism on Pearl Harbor day. They could have given Hawaii to the Japanese at that time if they were disloyal. Instead of that they got guns and fought the Japanese planes. Those Japanese born and educated in America and treated fairly are just as loyal to America on the whole I think, as are the sons of Englishmen or Germans.

Mr. ELMER. We segregated them.

Mr. JUDD. I think that was a bad mistake. It was a shame to put the loyal majority in with those Japanese who were spies and who were a hundred percent for the Mikado.

Mr. ELMER. Well, we had no way of telling who was who.

Dr. JUDD. But we might have made a little faster move than we have in the last year and a half to find out.

Mr. McCOWEN. Do you think Japan could have developed this war if we had not been selling them the things we have?

Dr. JUDD. No. If you will look at this testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee back on April 26, 1939, I spent some 20 pages urging and begging and pleading that we not sell war materials to Japan because I was convinced if we did not stop it we were going to have war with Japan. Nobody believed me than any more than they do now.

I gave 2 whole years of my life away from my profession trying to get my country not to arm Japan.

Mr. McCOWEN. Well, you were right on that.

Dr. JUDD. But most people said I was merely pro-Chinese.

Mr. McCOWEN. You were right on that. I raised that question merely to try to bring out the point that that was mighty bad policy.

Dr. JUDD. It was incredible. Japan laughed up her sleeve at us. We were selling them the stuff to shoot back at ourselves.

Mr. McCOWEN. Could they have gotten on with that war if we had not been selling them the stuff?

Dr. JUDD. No; there was a case where we had all the aces. Japan could not carry on the war without certain things which she had to get from us. Ordinarily you have to get out and fight to stop an enemy. Here was a case where we almost certainly could have stopped her without firing a shot.

Out in Los Angeles the secretary of the chamber of commerce said to me, "Why, young fellow, we are shipping \$60,000,000 worth of war materials a year out of this harbor to Japan. Do you think we are going to give that up?" He thought he was a hard-headed realistic, practical businessman. History has proved he was an economic fool, a hopelessly sentimental dreamer.

Mr. ELMER. Has international trade not caused more wars than anything in the world?

Dr. JUDD. You can have trade——

Mr. ELMER. This fellow would not surrender that \$60,000,000 to save China.

Dr. JUDD. Yes; but there were other businessmen who wrote into our Government, for example, "Why do you not stop this trade with Japan?"

"I alone cannot stop it. I am in the chemical business, shipping chemicals to Japan that I know she uses in making munitions. I don't want this business. But what can I do? If I as one individual stop, I don't really hamper them. All they do is transfer their orders to my competitors. I want the Government to stop all of us." It was impossible to expect individual industries to stop by themselves. It required Government action and the Government was too irresolute or too timid or too appeasing to act.

For the sake of the public welfare, the whole thing should have been stopped.

Mr. McCOWEN. Right there is the greatest cause of this war.

Dr. JUDD. That was not the primary cause. It was merely giving them the tools.

Mr. McCOWEN. I think it was because——

Mr. ELMER. Now, doctor, suppose we wanted to help Russia. Suppose that Russia says, "I am going to keep Poland" which she will do. "I am going to keep the Balkan countries," which she will do. "I am going to have a port on the Mediterranean Sea," which she will do. Are we going to help her out and then kick about it afterward?

Dr. JUDD. I am not aware of Stalin's plans, but I am certain if there is not going to be some sort of collective security system after the war, then the Russians will try to get some or all those places in the effort to achieve individual security, the same as we will demand control of certain islands, and so forth.

If you insist on all those boundaries being settled before we are willing to attempt some sort of international collaboration then we never can get together.

Mr. ELMER. We are always one class of people trying to establish a government.

Dr. JUDD. We tried to settle the boundaries, and so forth, last time before we had agreed on the rules by which we would try to solve all disputes. It disrupted us before hand.

Mr. McCOWEN. I think you can go back to the Disarmament Conference when we had under way a two-ocean Navy and we junked that.

Dr. JUDD. Japan agreed to reduce hers to a 3-5-5 ratio. Americans did not want to build a larger navy; they wanted to spend the money for roads and radios and refrigerators, and so forth.

But if we did not want to spend this money for a larger Navy, then we had to keep China independent. The error was that after we junked the second Navy, instead of helping China—we helped Japan destroy China.

Mr. McCOWEN. If we had had the Navy, Japan would not have tried to do it?

Dr. JUDD. You could not persuade the American people of that then.

Mr. McCOWEN. There are a lot of things that we are talking about here that you cannot get the American people to stand for.

Dr. JUDD. America is not likely to want to maintain a huge armament program after this war. If we do not want to or cannot get security through our own armaments, we have to try to get it through either allies, or some sort of international agreement with a police force.

Mr. McCOWEN. And this shows—the history of the world shows that the matter of allies is a changing thing.

Dr. JUDD. It is a changing thing except where you have peoples whose interests run together or parallel.

Mr. McCOWEN. They diverge at times, too.

Dr. JUDD. Yes; the same as the colonists almost split up after the Revolution. After it was over what did Virginia have in common with Massachusetts? They said their interests were not the same; but fortunately they found before it was too late, that the interests they had in common were greater and more important than those they had in conflict.

They had to hang together, in order not to hang separately.

Mr. McCOWEN. That is the point I wanted to bring out. It is not just one point that has caused this war.

Mr. ELMER. Do you not think a man who says, "I have not been appointed to liquidate the British Empire"—do you think he is going to relinquish his possessions, and that we should go to war because of it?

Dr. JUDD. Would anybody suggest that we should go to war because of it?

Mr. ELMER. Well, if we are going to do it by force.

Dr. JUDD. No; America alone cannot police the world. But either one or two nations will have to try to rule this world after the war, or there will have to be a real partnership. I hope the latter, because the former simply cannot succeed.

Mr. ELMER. Then the United States will make England turn Hong Kong back and the rest of us will make Russia hand Poland back.

Dr. JUDD. You do not need to determine all those things now.

Mr. ELMER. That is right here now. They are live questions. They are already here.

Dr. JUDD. They are dangers, but I am confident the issues that should unite us are greater than those that divide us.

Mr. ELMER. The Prime Minister did not mention DeGaulle's name the other day in his speech. He just mentioned that other one, Giraud. DeGaulle sends more help to us than Giraud ever has.

Dr. JUDD. Surely you did not ask me here to defend the British Empire?

Mr. LESINSKI. Gentlemen, are there any other questions?

Dr. JUDD. But the sum and substance, Mr. Elmer, is this: There are dangers if you try to cooperate with other nations——

Mr. ELMER. We are never going to get out of danger as long as there are other nations on the earth and we do not control them all, and we cannot do that.

Mr. McCOWEN. And we had better arm and stay pretty well armed.

Dr. JUDD. There are dangers if we go along with other nations; but the dangers of trying to go it alone are even greater.

Mr. LESINSKI. Dr. Judd, I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Ray, of the American Legion.

**STATEMENT OF L. S. RAY, ACTING EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, AMERICAN LEGION**

Mr. RAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the four bills being considered by the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is true that just the Magnuson bill and the Kennedy bill are being considered.

Mr. RAY. 2428 and 2429?

The CHAIRMAN. The two bills that I introduced have been withdrawn.

Mr. RAY. And that is 2428 and 2429.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. KEARNEY. The bill is 2309; is it not?

Mr. MASON. The two that were withdrawn he is naming, and we have the two here, H. R. 2309 and H. R. 1882.

The CHAIRMAN. But the principle is the same so it will not make any difference.

Mr. RAY. Yes.

These four bills have one purpose in common, the setting aside of the restriction in our immigration laws as to applies to the Chinese. H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429 would repeal the Chinese exclusion laws.

The National Americanism Commission of the American Legion has just recently made a study of these bills and our policy will be one of opposition to all four.

The American Legion at its national convention held at Kansas City, Mo., in September of last year, went on record favoring drastic restriction in immigration following the war until jobs have been provided for those returning to civil life from war service. Certainly our most immediate and most important job after the cessation of hostilities will be to find jobs for the millions of men and women who are or will serve in our armed forces, and no one can now predict what economic conditions will prevail in this country at that time.

We appreciate and commend the Chinese people for the wonderful service they have performed in holding the Japanese at bay. One argument we have heard advanced favoring enactment of these bills is that such action will raise the morale of the Chinese people. It is our opinion that very few of the Chinese who are carrying on the war in China have given any thought to the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. The naturalization and immigration question as it affects the Chinese can well wait until the war is over when basic and sound consideration can be given it without the influence of war hysteria.

The American Legion has been disturbed by the efforts of certain groups to force through legislation at this time which would confer citizenship on large numbers of aliens or to make drastic changes in our immigration laws.

Bills are pending to affect a number of these changes and others no doubt will be introduced. The sum total of this proposed legislation if enacted by the Congress would go far toward the breaking down of the safeguards provided by our immigration and naturalization laws, which have been so carefully worked out and placed on the statute books after many years of work and study.

We feel that naturalization and immigration rights granted the Chinese at this particular time will be used as an opening wedge toward following through with similar rights for other groups.

We are very definitely of the opinion that such a procedure would not contribute to our war effort and would certainly jeopardize the providing of jobs for our servicemen after the war.

The Director of our National Americanism Commission, Mr. Homer L. Chaillaux, in a letter addressed to the National Legislative Committee of the Legion stated:

Instead of trying to pave the way to bring more and more refugees and immigrants to America now and after the war, we had best start passing legislation which will provide the first 12,000,000 jobs immediately after the war for returning soldiers and sailors.

We must not start giving post-war work to alien immigrants ahead of those men who have honorably served our country in war.

In my opinion, the soundness of Mr. Chaillaux' suggestions cannot be questioned.

The American Legion is hopeful that your committee will not act favorably on these bills, and we further urge that legislation designed to extend citizenship to large numbers of aliens or to make any substantial changes in our immigration laws will be delayed until after the war when an accurate survey of our economic and employment conditions can be made.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your statement? Now, may I ask a question or two?

Mr. RAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I always have great regard for all Legionnaires, because they are truly American.

Now, I cannot get through my mind several things.

These resolutions here, these proposed bills have not been before the convention of the Legion, nor were they taken up with the rank and file of the organization to determine their views on the legislation.

None of the documentary evidence presented on this issue has been taken up at any convention.

And so I, personally, am at a loss, and I am speaking for myself only, to understand upon what theory or upon what basis you have decided to oppose legislation which seems to be important to the successful prosecution of the war. I do not want to get into a long discussion at this point, but I would be only too happy to open my files to the Legion, to let them examine the problem more carefully. I cannot understand how they can come to the conclusion you have come to, and I am willing to accept it, understand, for all it is worth—however let me state here that the problem of coolie labor or any other labor, is not involved here at all. Putting China on a quota basis will not mean any immigration on a large scale. It would mean an annual quota of 107. It is not the number of people who will come in, because 107 is a pretty small number, that is so important but the principle involved. We must show our good faith to the Chinese people who are fighting side by side with our boys, and whom we will need now and after the war.

Now, as to the position or the contention of the Legion that 107 quota members will take away jobs from Americans, naturally I am for the American citizens first, but I fail to see how this small number can in any way endanger our economy. Now, if you can convince me of that—I have an open mind.

Mr. RAY. The question of immigration has been before our national conventions for a number of years, Mr. Chairman. The action

the 6th and 7th of this month is by the representatives from every State, the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, which acts for the organization between conventions.

Our Kansas City convention recommended that all immigration be suspended until we could make a survey of conditions as they will be at the end of the war.

One hundred and seven is only the beginning but the chairman knows there are many groups coming to the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let me complete my statement. I appreciate your answer, but let me say now, so far as I am individually concerned, I am not interested in any question at the moment other than the question before us.

I am sure the committee will be more than glad to cooperate in any way possible in clearing up a lot of questions that might have arisen.

Mr. RAY. Our National Americanism Committee, Mr. Chairman, is studying constantly bills that come before the Congress.

The clerk of your committee very kindly sent copies of all bills before your committee, as do the Senator Committee on Immigration. They propose to study all of those bills.

We of the Legion know considerable about conditions as they were immediately following the First World War. There was widespread unemployment; the veteran coming back from service abroad or from service here found himself without a job and it was very difficult for him to secure it.

We are of the opinion that that condition is going to be greatly multiplied after this war is over and there are many nations and races and groups that are coming to Congress now, and will come in greater numbers, asking that our immigration laws be modified or let down to let in this group or that group.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; Mr. Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Ray, the distinguished chairman insinuates that the great American Legion is not qualified by experience and study to discuss this question and to pass on it.

Now, as a matter of fact, as you have just pointed out, is it not true that the Legion, throughout its existence, has not only studied these bills but each and every bill affecting immigrants coming to this country?

Mr. RAY. That is true.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you have a committee that makes a study of these questions and you are prepared to speak on it?

Mr. RAY. We have a standing committee that is composed of representative Legionnaires from every State in the Union. And we have committees in posts and departments that are making some of those studies, and they make their reports to our Americanism committee.

Mr. ALLEN. I am sure you agree with me that we have the most kindly feelings toward the Chinese and, as you pointed out, we are willing to give them every possible material assistance, but the question of letting down the immigration barriers and letting orientals in is another question, is it not? Another question entirely, isn't that true?

Mr. RAY. Yes, Mr. Allen, and we are very much concerned for fear there will be a large number of different groups coming in.

We are definitely of the opinion that there is plenty of time after the war is finished and can make a survey of what conditions are going to be.

They are going to be chaotic, as far as finding employment for men and women now in the armed services and we think our first consideration certainly should be for them.

Mr. ALLEN. I thoroughly agree.

Now, Mr. Ray, you know that the quota of Great Britain is around 65,000 and you probably know that Great Britain has not filled that quota for many years. In fact, I do not know that Great Britain ever did fill her quota.

Of that 65,000 she has been sending only a few hundreds, so to speak, each year.

You also know that Hong Kong is Chinese—I mean the people there are Chinese, and that Great Britain expects to get that back after the war, and you also know—

Mr. MASON. I wonder if he knows that Great Britain expects to get that back.

Mr. ALLEN. Churchill said so. I think he can take the word of Churchill for it.

Mr. MASON. I am quite sure that Churchill did not say any such thing, and Churchill would not say any such thing at this stage of the war.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, you go ask Churchill.

Mr. MASON. He has too much sense to say any such thing.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, you go ask Churchill.

Now, you know that it would be entirely possible, having that great quota that Great Britain has, 65,000, and with only a few hundred British coming, you know it would be entirely possible for the people of Chinese blood, and any other oriental, not only the Chinese, but any other of oriental blood, who happened to live in British possessions, to come in under that quota. That is true, is it not?

Mr. RAY. I have not had a chance to study those figures, but our Americanism Commission has had all those figures before them; they have studied the quotas; they have studied the reports coming from different States, and those of different groups that are making plans to try to have changes made in our immigration laws.

Data of all descriptions are studied by them, and thrashed out and presented to our convention and our national executive committee.

Mr. ALLEN. Our chairman knows Great Britain has a big quota that she has not used, and he knows that any orientals who are British subjects could come in under that quota if we break down the immigration law.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let me clear my record up here? The chairman knows a good many things that I have not even attempted to discuss here, but my good friend—

Mr. ALLEN. Well, I would like to know if it is so.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it is not so.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, what are the facts?

The CHAIRMAN. You are assuming a state of facts now that does not exist and that is not before the committee.

We are not dealing with who will come and who will not come. There is one simple question before this committee to determine, and that is the question along the line of the bills, along the line of the Kennedy and the Magnuson bills.

I do not think that we ought to indulge in all of these hypothetical questions. My friend, Mr. Ray, knows it is a pretty difficult question to answer. The Chair has been very lenient and is willing to cooperate and help my good friend, but in the first place, he would have to be native-born before he could possibly get a chance, under any quota.

If he just comes to England and stays there a hundred years, it will not put him under the British quota.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you mean to say, Mr. Chairman, a man who was born in Hong Kong, a British possession, could not come in when you permit orientals to come?

The only reason they have not been coming is because we have had oriental exclusion.

Now, is the chairman of this committee going to solemnly tell the committee that a British subject, living in Hong Kong, who is an oriental, regardless of what race he is, cannot come under the British quota?

Great Britain would not admit that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think if my good friend will go back and read the acts of 1907, 1924, and 1932, there are some questions that are involved here and I do not want to go into a discussion of the immigration laws for the next 2 or 3 days. The bill could very easily be drawn so as to have the Chinese quota apply to all Chinese no matter where they live. Are there any other questions?

Mr. MASON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I have two questions that I would like to ask the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. As I sum up your testimony, you make two points. One is that our first consideration, the one thing above everything else, is to see to it, if possible, that our boys when they come back home shall have jobs.

That is right, is it not? With that I thoroughly agree and I think this committee and the Congress should keep that in mind first, last, and all the time.

Now, if I can prove to you that the passage of this bill would have a great deal to do with providing 20,000 to 30,000 jobs for American soldiers who used to work in the machine-tools industry and have been drafted out of the machine-tools industry, and sent to the Army—that it would provide jobs for them, their old jobs when they come back, would you agree that would be a pretty good reason for the passage of this bill, if it only lets in 107 Chinese?

Mr. RAY. Your statement that our main emphasis was on jobs—we place equal emphasis on our belief that there should be no material changes made in our immigration laws or naturalization laws until after this war is finished.

Mr. MASON. That is all right, but I said one of your points was that we should keep before us all the time, first, last and foremost and all the time the matter of providing jobs for our American soldiers when they return. That is agreed. We all agree to that, do we not?

Mr. RAY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. All right. Now, Rockford, Ill., in my district, is the largest machine-tool center in the United States.

The machine-tool industry has expanded and is now producing 13 times as much as her peak performance before. We are going to have an accumulation of machine tools in this country that we will not have any use for as soon as the war is over, between \$5,000,000,000 and \$8,000,000,000 worth.

Now, if we are going to provide jobs for those boys coming home, who worked in the machine-tools industry, we have either got to dump those surplus tools in the Atlantic Ocean or get rid of them in some way so that the machine-tool industry can carry on; or you have got to find some place where they can be sold.

China has the greatest need for machine tools of any country in the world. It is the only market where we can dispose of these surplus machine tools.

If we can take \$5,000,000,000 worth of these tools and place them in China after this war is over, it is going to provide jobs for our machine-tool workers who are coming home.

Now, that is one phase of this problem of providing jobs that has been overlooked by the American Legion; and where I talk about machine tools I should talk about other manufacturers, but I only talk about the one because I am informed on that, and have examined the charts and data and figures, to prove that we have got to get rid of our machine-tool surplus or we are going to have our machine-tools industry closed for from 8 to 10 years, because the life of machine tools is from 15 to 20 years. And I say, with those facts and figures before me, the passage of this bill will go a long way toward providing markets for those surplus machine tools that we are going to have to get rid of. And instead of taking away jobs, the passage of this bill is actually going to provide hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Mr. ELMER. How do you figure that letting 107 Chinese in here is going to produce a market for your millions in tools?

Mr. MASON. I figure it from this standpoint, sir, that we must do everything we can to create friendly relations with China at this particular time so that we will be a preferred nation in the great expansion of trade that is coming to China after the war is over.

Mr. ELMER. Do you not think that is a dream?

Mr. MASON. No; I do not think it is a dream.

Mr. ELMER. What are you going to do with the competition that those fellows will have, those fellows over there in the Orient?

Mr. MASON. That will be in the years to come; they do not produce overnight, you know. It will take years before China could develop to the extent that she will be a competitor of ours in the production of manufactured goods.

Mr. ELMER. That is what we thought about Japan, and what did she do?

Mr. MASON. And it took about 50 years.

Mr. ELMER. That does not make any difference, how long it took.

Mr. MASON. All right. I have made that one point about jobs.

Another thing is that the American Legion said they did not consider that this would help the war situation as it concerns us and that the thing for us to do was to give material aid to China at this particular time.

Well, the military situation is such that until we recapture the port of Rangoon, and open up the Burma Road, it is impossible for us to give to China military aid and the food that she so badly needs to keep her going during this next 6 months or year. It will be at least 6 months or a year before that can possibly be done, according to our military experts. I am not a military expert.

And so, pending the time when we can deliver real military aid to China, this is one thing that we can do, giving her moral or psychological aid which she needs, and her leaders say will do more to keep her on her feet and to offset the Japanese propaganda than any other act we could possibly do; and so, from that standpoint, as a war measure, this is a very important bill.

I just wanted to make those two points.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go on.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you favor the continuation of existing immigration quotas?

Mr. RAY. Well, I personally have not made any study of our immigration quotas. As I stated a few moments ago, we have our Americanism Commission and I have not questioned them on that. I know that they are very familiar with our immigration quotas as applied to every nation, but it has not been my job to make a study of those quotas, and I would not be prepared to discuss the quotas as they apply to the different nations or races.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a fair statement.

Mr. CURTIS. Do I understand the position of the American Legion as opposing any bills that let Chinese in under the quota, is based primarily on economic reasons, or is it on a racial basis?

Mr. RAY. Well, as I stated, the over-all picture of the effort to break down our immigration laws is from various nations and from various groups and they will be coming in increasing numbers to make changes for this group or that group. My summing was, in the aggregate, if all those things were done, we would practically set aside our restrictions as imposed by our present immigration laws.

Mr. CURTIS. The reason you favor restrictions is because of the economic reasons?

Mr. RAY. That is one.

Mr. CURTIS. Dealing with unemployment and all that sort of thing?

Mr. RAY. We know that that is going to be a very difficult situation.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. Now, what I would like to know, if in addition to economic reasons, the American Legion opposes this measure because of racial reasons?

Mr. RAY. No; as far as I know, that is not one of the reasons.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes?

Mr. RAY. As stated before, we are very much inspired, the whole Legion is, with the fight that the Chinese people have made. We think that more aid should be gotten to them at the first possible moment, if it some way can be gotten to them, and it should be pushed to the very limit of our resources.

Mr. CURTIS. It is my understanding—I may be mistaken, but I think my information is correct—that the Chinese people as a group and as a government, concede to us the right to restrict immigration to protect our own jobs and our own industries, and the like, but

that as long as the Japanese can whisper to the Chinese that "you are kept out because of your race," that it is a great material factor in this war.

Now, I might say my general views are very much in accord with your belief. I would go along with you and cut out all quotas for a period of 10 years, because we cannot take care of all the people in the world that want jobs after this war is over, and I would be willing to nearly abolish, maybe abolish, all quotas for a period of 10 years after the war is over.

At the same time, I favor a measure along this line that would put it on an economic basis for China, the same as it is for Belgium and Holland and England and the other countries.

It should be on an economic basis and on a quota basis and I would say a very low quota for all of them.

My question that I first asked was whether or not your favoring existing quotas was based on this—I wondered if you favored a continuation of quotas for Germany and Italy. Japan does not have any after this war.

Mr. RAY. As I stated, Congressman, I am not prepared to speak in regard to quotas, present quotas. They are being studied by our Americanism Committee.

They make recommendations to our national convention and the national executive committee which meets twice a year between conventions, and they decide the policy after listening to reports from our Americanism Committee and after they have been discussed.

Mr. ALLEN. But, Mr. Ray, the American Legion does not accept the philosophy at this time that it will make jobs for returning American soldiers to send machinery and other things to countries to build up competition with us? The American Legion does not accept that philosophy, does it?

Mr. RAY. I cannot get the connection between the two.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think if you will come here tomorrow afternoon, we are going to have a very able gentleman who is going to discuss the economic question, and I think we will all learn something.

Mr. RAY. We think that this is a very inopportune time to bring this bill before the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are entitled to your views. I thank you very much.

Mr. RAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wilkins of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

STATEMENT OF S. E. WILKINS FOR OMAR B. KETCHUM, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Mr. WILKINS. Mr. Chairman, my name is S. E. Wilkins and I speak for Mr. Omar B. Ketchum, national legislative representative, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, who is unable to attend this meeting of your committee because of another engagement.

Mr. Ketchum hoped to appear and to voice the opposition of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as an organization, to these bills relating to the Chinese exclusion laws.

For many years and for good reasons, it has been the policy of the organization to oppose any and all bills to liberalize the existing

immigration laws, and there is no apparent need for radical revision of such laws during this wartime period.

The Chinese are engaged in a great struggle in their homeland for their very existence as individuals and as a nation, and the V. F. W. advocates the greatest possible aid be given China by the United States so that the Chinese may continue their superb resistance to Japan, but it is difficult to see how the admission into the United States, during these days of peril to China, of a few Chinese subjects would be a contribution to their war effort, or ours.

China's problem is to drive out the invader so that the Chinese may resume their way of life in their own country, and the United States has contributed much, and will contribute more, toward the accomplishment of that objective.

The organization firmly believes that consideration of legislation to amend immigration laws may well be postponed until hostilities cease, the present chaotic world conditions are corrected, and Americans can calmly and with fairness to all review the immigration problems as a whole to determine what would be to the mutual advantage of our allies and ourselves in the post-war period.

Mr. Chairman, the V. F. W. respectfully recommends that the bills under consideration be not favorably reported at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wilkins, I am rather disappointed, being a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in the position taken by this group.

Were these bills considered by the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars? Were they discussed?

Mr. WILKINS. Mr. Chairman, to my knowledge, these particular bills have not been, but I stated that Mr. Ketchum wished to voice the opposition of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, have any of the principles involved in the bills to repeal the restriction against China been discussed during any time since or have been an organization?

Mr. WILKINS. I do not think, sir, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars would single out any nationality, but it is their opinion that the immigration laws should be kept intact until the close of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, do you think the giving of a quota of 107 to a people would destroy the economic structure of our country, if there is such a thing as quotas?

Mr. WILKINS. That, in itself, would not.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly it would not.

Mr. CURTIS. May I ask one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the opposition of the Veterans of Foreign Wars because of economic reasons or do you oppose a quota for China for racial reasons?

Mr. WILKINS. Economic only.

Here is one thing that I might say, that before this war is ended, we will have hundreds of thousands of American soldiers serving in China.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. WILKINS. And it might be well for those men who have lived in China and fought in China to have their say when the war is over as to what they think is good for the country.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, your feeling, Mr. Wilkins, is that this problem ought not to be agitated now, and ought to be held up until after the war is over and then the whole oriental question can be gone over?

Mr. WILKINS. That is right, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you realize that regardless of how many of any oriental race you let in, since our present law excludes all orientals, that the minute you let anybody in that it breaks down the system? That is your position, is it not? You do not want the present status changed?

Mr. WILKINS. Well, any relaxation of immigration would naturally open it up.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, you do not want to open up immigration any further than it is already?

Mr. WILKINS. That is right, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question here to clarify matters in my own mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now, we have sat here for several days and listened to arguments about these various bills. Do I understand that a change in these laws would remove the quota of 107, or would it continue the same?

The CHAIRMAN. A change in these laws would just add a quota of 107, nothing more, nothing less. It would not change or relax the requirements as to moral character, financial responsibility, and educational standards.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, let me say to the gentleman, it is fair to say that, as the gentleman knows, any steps taken to let any oriental in—just one, even—is a change in our policy of 61 years standing.

In other words, we have had a standing policy of 61 years against orientals.

Now, regardless of one's views of the thing, I think the chairman will agree with me, if you change your immigration system—let just one in—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have changed so many things. Sixty-one years ago we had horse cars. Today we have the trans-Atlantic clipper.

Mr. ALLEN. I wanted the record to reveal the true situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. KEARNEY. I would like to ask one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. KEARNEY. With reference to your stand here, is that stand based on any recommendation of the councils of the organization?

Mr. WILKINS. I can only say that that is the policy that the Veterans of Foreign Wars adopted long ago, because of economic conditions in this country, and there has been no change in their policy.

Mr. ELMER. They do not single out the Chinese, but they cover all orientals?

Mr. WILKINS. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

We have one more opposition witness, and we would like to hear her.

Is Agnes Waters here?

All right.

Is the representative of the American Federation of Labor here?
Is Mr. Hines here? We might as well get the opposition.

**STATEMENT OF LEWIS G. HINES, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. HINES. Mr. Chairman, permit me to say that the American Federation of Labor has nothing but admiration for the Chinese people.

I do not think that any other group of people in this country have done more to help the Chinese than the American Federation of Labor.

First, we instituted a boycott against Japan when China was first invaded, and the boycott was very effective.

We are in favor of doing everything to help China win the war and to help preserve their integrity and preserve themselves as a nation.

We feel, however, that the people who are sponsoring this legislation at this time are doing China a disservice.

The Chinese Government has not asked for this. Certain groups of people have and are sponsoring this legislation, to the detriment of the people of China.

I want to go back to the inception of this thing in the first convention of the American Federation of Labor back in 1881 when it was recognized that something had to be done to stop the immigration of Chinese into this country.

We heard a witness the other day talk about being present when his father drove the last spike in a transcontinental railway in this country, and he lauded the 5,000 Chinese, 5,000 or 6,000, who helped to build this railroad, and he talked rather discouragingly about the American people who could not go out and brave the snowstorms, and so forth, and he lauded the Chinese.

He did not tell you that they worked for about 30 cents a day.

He did not tell you that that brought on the condition that the American Federation of Labor has been maintaining all these years for the exclusion of Asiatics.

Now, there has never been a witness come before this group, and, I have heard them all, favoring this proposition, who has been logical and practical in his contentions.

We have heard people, idealistic people, talk about favoring this measure because it is the Christian thing to do.

Well, we are all Christian, try to be.

The very same people will tell you in the next breath that they favor extending the provisions of this act to all Asiatic people.

A couple of gentlemen on the stand here a few minutes ago ducked the question when they were asked whether or not their organization, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, was in favor of extending this to all Asiatic people.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Hines, Dr. VanKirk admitted that he was in favor—

Mr. HINES. Well, there was a little bit of evasion there.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. HINES. Now, we propose this from an economic standpoint, and it is quite a coincidence that we are in accord—or, rather, the

American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and ourselves are thinking along the same lines. We have not had any conference on this matter, but we are looking at it from a practical standpoint.

We do not think that this is the time to raise this question of letting down the bars.

The fact that it has been put forth here by people to represent winning the war, that is all poppycock.

China was attacked by Japan and China is fighting for its very existence.

The other, that we will sell them machine tools if we pass this legislation is more poppycock. That is very far-fetched.

If China needs machine tools and we can sell them to them, we will sell them to them regardless of whether we pass this legislation or not.

This question is one that has agitated the people of this country for a good many years, and it is one I think should have been settled not in this fashion but it should be given the consideration that it deserves, and that is around the peace table when peace comes.

I think we should make this an order of business at that time to determine whether or not we are going to admit to this country or where we are going to change our immigration policy at that time.

If it is wise that we do this, the wisdom of the people will prevail.

Now, this talk about 107 people coming in, I do not know how this is arrived at, in some manner or other, I have not had it thoroughly explained to me, but assuming that is the case, we will be sitting around here in a short time determining whether that 107 shall be extended to 50,000.

Mr. LESINSKI. You cannot do it under the quota system.

Mr. HINES. They are arguing now that we should place China on equality with England and all other countries.

They are contending that it brings in only 107. But might they not argue later on, come back here later on, and demand that they be given a quota basis on their population, and, if England, with a population of less than a hundred million, has a quota of 65,000, China, with a population of 400,000,000, India, with a population of 400,000,000, if those countries should demand and get quotas in line with the population of their countries, we would be bringing in over a million a year.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know where you get those figures. The quota is based not upon the population of a foreign country but upon the number of their people who were here when the census of 1890 was taken. The quota is 2 percent of that number of people.

Mr. MASON. Let the witness continue.

Mr. HINES. Let me say this, Mr. Chairman, I want to make this clear, we are not opposing this from a racial standpoint, we are opposing this from an economic standpoint.

It has been argued over the years—I think we go back to 1881 and the years following that—and we find that the reasons why we opposed it at that time were because of the unfair competition from these sources and the fact that these people could exist on much less than the American workmen can exist.

Now, if those things have changed—I do not know as they have—or if we have some assurance that there won't be more hordes of these people coming in—China does not want that—the Chinese workers

do not—so far as I know, we have never had a word of condemnation on the part of the Chinese workers, and we have received commendation from them.

I would like to read a couple of telegrams from people in China to the American Federation of Labor convention back in 1937. This was addressed to President William Green at the Denver convention:

We wholeheartedly support your proposal of boycotting all Japanese goods to uphold justice and humanity and check Japan's unwarranted aggression. We sincerely hope an immediate adoption of the boycott resolution. Warmest greetings from Young Moon.

We received another cablegram by way of R. C. A. addressed to President Green:

Your proposal boycott Japanese as protest against Japanese aggression most gratifying. Your upright stand in cause international justice deeply appreciated. Hope your proposal finds immediate adoption.

LU CHING TZE,

President, Workers Federation, National Postal Workers Federation.

Mr. LESINSKI. That would not have anything to do with the attitude of the Chinese in giving them a quota.

Mr. HINES. I made that point, Congressman, to show—

Mr. LESINSKI. I realize that the Chinese are grateful to the American Federation of Labor for your statement, but I don't think that has any bearing on this case.

Mr. HINES. I quoted that, Congressman, to show that there has never been any disposition on the part of the workers of China to object to the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor or the American people on the question of immigration.

I cite that to offset the statements that have been made here that the adoption of this bill will greatly raise the morale of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people would rather have half a dozen airplanes than all the bills you can have. They are interested in material. We are going to give them that. We are going to help China to set herself up as a nation, we are going to send them those tools, we are going to help get China on her feet, and if we are to spend 5 billion, I do not know how we can better help than to send China those things after the war is over.

Mr. MASON. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MASON. It is unfortunate that the gentleman referred to a statement of a previous witness as having been a statement that was all poppycock, because the gentleman's statements are largely based on misinformation, and, therefore, fall of their own weight.

The gentleman states that this is not the time to bring up this proposition. The gentleman does not seem to know that the proposition was not brought up by us, it was not brought up by any group in this country; it was brought up by Japan itself in its propaganda operations and its broadcasts to the Chinese people, which has forced this issue to the front; and we have no control over Japan and its propaganda efforts and its broadcasts to the Chinese people.

Therefore, we are just simply in the position of having to face that thing.

Now, the gentleman also says that we are willing to give material aid as much as possible and as soon as possible; and the gentleman

says that the Chinese people are not interested in this, all they are interested in is in material aid.

Well, the gentleman is not an authority on what the Chinese people feel and believe and know and ask. [Applause.]

And I want to inform the gentleman that the Chinese people through accredited representatives have said definitely that this is a very important emergency war measure and cannot wait until after the war, in order to offset present day Japanese propaganda which is undermining the morale of China, and that comes from authoritative sources, from China itself, and not from unauthoritative or ill-informed sources. That is all I have to say.

Mr. HINES. Have those sources been made public, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we have them in executive session.

Mr. MASON. You cannot make public anything in executive session.

Mr. KEARNEY. There are some people in American who have lived in China.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. And we even have the broadcasts of yesterday and the day before, and they have gone on almost constantly.

Mr. ALLEN. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. I want to make the observation for the benefit of our Chinese friends, and I say with all sincerity that the demonstration which they have just exhibited here does not do their cause any good.

The gentleman testifying represents a great American organization and he represents an organization which has always stood for the downtrodden and has always tried to help people, and he has come here as a representative of a great organization, and our Chinese friends do themselves no good when they put on a demonstration like they did.

Mr. ELMER. That did not hurt anything. They have a right to express their feelings.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, Mr. Hines, I was interested in your statement to the effect that this issue being brought up here and fanned out to the American people is doing the Chinese cause great harm, and I thoroughly agree with what the gentleman said. I want to say to the gentleman that I repeatedly urged that if this thing had to be discussed at this time it ought to have been done in executive session.

Mr. HINES. You are just playing into the hands of the Japanese propagandists.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, this open hearing and these demonstrations are giving the Japanese the ammunition which they want, and in that respect this hearing is doing a disservice to the Chinese, I am afraid, in line with what the gentleman says.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. ALLEN. May I just add, Mr. Chairman, the Japanese have directed an equal amount of propaganda at the Indian people.

Mr. BENNETT. May I just ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. The gentleman from Illinois said this was an emergency measure and it was necessary to stop Japanese propaganda. Do you think the American Congress can stop Japanese propaganda in wartime by passing a law?

Mr. HINES. Of course not. Of course not.

Mr. MASON. But let me point out the fact that our State Department—our State Department—has already acted to take away one of the legs of the Japanese propaganda, and that is our extraterritoriality rights which we have voluntarily relinquished as a war measure; and that this is an opportunity for the Congress to take away the other leg upon which Japanese propaganda is based.

Mr. HINES. It is too bad the State Department did not act at the time the American Federation of Labor took action and stopped the shipments of oil and scrap iron to Japan.

Mr. ALLEN. Let me say right there at this moment that the territory in China which we had possession of was a Chinese question and I seriously question our rights to be over there at all. It was not our territory.

But this immigration matter is an American question.

Mr. HINES. Let me make this concluding statement, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead if you want to.

Mr. ELMER. No, no.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman here wants to ask you a question. Mr. Curtis, have you a question?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes; but he may finish his statement.

Mr. HINES. I would like to reiterate what I said: This is a matter which should be considered at the peace table along with all other questions.

After the last war we saw an influx of people from Germany. They helped to make up the German Bund which was created at that time.

I think we ought to give consideration to cutting down the quotas from enemy countries instead of the question of creating new quotas for Allied countries.

I believe this deserves more consideration than it is getting at this particular time when people are testifying on the basis of emotion; and that is all the witnesses are testifying from, so far as I can see.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not agree with you.

Mr. CURTIS. Do I understand you want to have this settled at the peace table?

Mr. HINES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. The matter of who are to come to this country and in what numbers to be determined by an International Peace Conference and not by the American Congress?

Mr. HINES. Well, I do not want to deprive the Congress of any of its prerogatives, but I do think that the people who are going to negotiate peace which will later be ratified by Congress will have a better opportunity to give more time and more serious consideration to the questions involved in that peace.

I do not think Congress can negotiate the peace treaty or negotiate the terms under which the enemy countries are going to exist in the future.

I think the Peace Committee appointed in the regular manner is the proper way to handle that, and the American Federation of Labor hopes to have a representative to that, expects to have representatives at that peace conference.

Mr. CURTIS. But do you contend that the authority to fix quotas and determine what countries shall have quotas should be vested in an International Peace Conference and not in our own Government, in this Government?

Mr. HINES. I think the International Peace Conference should make recommendations to Congress on such matters. I do not think that any peace conference should have the right to do it. It is the prerogative and duty of Congress solely to do that, but the peace conference can make recommendations.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, as I understood you to say, your opposition was economic and not racial.

Mr. HINES. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you aware that there were lawfully admitted to this country for permanent residence more than 26,000 Chinese since 1920?

Mr. HINES. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. And they came in various categories and they were not chargeable to the quota?

Mr. HINES. That is largely before 1924.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, in 1925 there were 1,721; 1926, 1,375; 1927, 1,051; 1928, 951; 1929, 1,071; and as late as 1940 we had 106, and as late as 1939, we had 124.

Mr. HINES. None of those, incidentally, have been admitted to citizenship.

Mr. CURTIS. That is something else, but do you accept as true the statement that the Chinese people are asking that racial discrimination of our law be removed against them, but that they still grant to us the right to restrict immigration even as against them for economic reasons?

Mr. HINES. You speak of the Chinese people. I am wondering if you speak of the total Chinese people or just a small segment of the Chinese people. I am wondering what percentage of the Chinese people are aware that there is an exclusive act in this country.

Mr. CURTIS. Dr. Judd, who is in this room, and he may correct me, has spent many years there, and he says it is quite common that the rank and file know about our immigration laws and that the Chinese are discriminated against because they are Chinese.

Is that right, Dr. Judd?

Dr. JUDD. That is right.

Mr. HINES. I hope the Chinese people will be represented at the peace table. The American Federation of Labor will be there, and perhaps we will have some solution.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you want to go on record that the American Federation of Labor recommends that we delegate this authority to the peace conference?

Mr. HINES. I have not said that. I do not intend to let you put words in my mouth. You know what I said. I said it is something appropriate for the peace conference, and it is something Congress will have to ratify, anyway. I do not want to take from Congress any of its prerogatives.

Mr. LESINSKI. Well, does the gentleman understand that the Senate only takes that up? That leaves the House out entirely.

Mr. HINES. Well, then, you had better amend the Constitution some way to get yourself included in that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We are getting away from the subject. Thank you very much.

Mr. HINES. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have one witness that we called this morning, Miss Waters.

We called you this morning. You were not here then. You might as well take a few minutes now.

STATEMENT OF AGNES WATERS, WASHINGTON, D. C., LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, CRUSADING MOTHERS OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND NATIONAL BLUE STAR MOTHERS

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mrs. WATERS. I am Agnes Waters, 3267 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.

I am appearing officially here as the legislative representative of the Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania and the National Blue Star Mothers, who have empowered me at a meeting on last Thursday night at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, where I spoke against this particular bill, to oppose it here in committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference between the Crusading Mothers and the National Blue Star Mothers?

Mrs. WATERS. There is no difference, really. We are allied practically every mothers' organization in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is there any difference in organization between the Blues and the others?

Mrs. WATERS. I think they are all pretty good Americans. I do not think there is any difference in what we call them.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mrs. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I represent millions of American women who are opposed to the breaking down of our immigration laws.

I have opposed the breaking down of our immigration laws since 1938 in this committee room; and most especially are we against this particular bill that would repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act foreign policy that was given to us by our forefathers from the very inception of this Republic to safeguard the American people—I should say the rights of the American people.

Mr. MASON. Has that bill been on the books that long?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not remember. I would have to go back to history.

Mrs. WATERS. I mean the Chinese Exclusion Act was at the very founding of this Republic spoken for by Benjamin Franklin in a speech in Independence Hall in which he warned the Congress then formed against the invasion of the Asiatic race.

I think that is on the statute books at Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

He made a speech particularly emphasizing the dangers of invasion from the Asiatics; and I think he included the Jewish race as Asiatics, too, at that time.

Now, we are most especially against this bill that would repeal the Chinese exclusion policies that we have had since the very inception of this Republic.

I base that on Benjamin Franklin's speech.

Mr. MASON. Mrs. Waters, the Exclusion Act was adopted by Congress in 1882. That is the history of it, and, of course, the speech that Benjamin Franklin made or is supposed to have made in Independence Hall is not a law.

Mrs. WATERS. No; it was part of the foreign policies of General Washington, and I am trying to maintain the policies of Washington, Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin. And that is what the women of America are attempting to do. We are opposed to the invasion of this Republic by any other foreign nation.

Mr. LESINSKI. Well, were we not all foreigners at one time?

Mrs. WATERS. That is perfectly all right, but we were not Chinese.

Mr. LESINSKI. Now, have you not made a pretty broad statement that you represent millions of mothers?

Mrs. WATERS. I have not.

Mr. LESINSKI. I happen to know a lot of blue star mothers.

Mrs. WATERS. Well, those blue star mothers are not my blue star mothers.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not the blue star mothers?

Mrs. WATERS. They might be called the black star mothers if they are Negroes and Jews.

Mr. LESINSKI. I think that ought to be stricken out.

Mrs. WATERS. You are making some insinuating remarks about my mothers.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it go. She is not doing anyone but herself any harm by such statements. They clearly show her—and if she really represents any groups—her followers, bigoted point of view. Her prejudices speak for themselves.

Mrs. WATERS. Well, you make remarks to me. I have a right to defend my mothers.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, lady. Just confine yourself to your statement, and we will get along.

Mrs. WATERS. Now, I would like to know who is back of this bill. Who is back of all of these bills we have been fighting since 1928 to benefit aliens within our gates?

These people have plenty of room in China. Today these Chinese are needed in their own country to fight our common enemies, the Japs, so the appeal the proponents offer to bring them in here because they happen to be our allies is a very poor, weak argument; and the fact they are fighting our common enemy on their own soil should mitigate in this crisis even further against being admitted here. This war does not change their status at all since we were always at peace with China. So now what has this war got to do with them coming in here?

Now, there is plenty of room there for them to fight the Japanese, and, besides, we should never forget that a friend today can be an enemy tomorrow. Why flood this country with yellow races?

Why, Chinese can never become Americans. As Kipling said:

East is east and west is west, and never the twain shall meet.

The CHAIRMAN. Who said that?

Mrs. WATERS. Kipling.

The CHAIRMAN. Poor Kipling. I hope he continues to rest in peace despite your quoting him.

Mrs. WATERS. I am saying it, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just trying to follow you.

Mrs. WATERS. Well, you always have great difficulty in following anything American.

The CHAIRMAN. As an American I never thought your ideas and ideals particularly American. As a matter of fact they have always been more in accord with Nazi and Fascist ideologies. But if you can manage to conduct yourself like a lady we will listen to the rest of your testimony.

Mrs. WATERS. We are for Americans only. The mothers of America intend to keep this Nation first, last, and forever for Americans against all opposition, and we are fighting to protect our laws and our freedom of government, and we are going to do it, too.

Now, have you any questions to ask me?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want to waste the committee's time.

Mr. LESINSKI. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, lady. You are excused.

Mrs. WATERS. We are absolutely against this bill. I want to say right now that practically all of the Chinese are Communists and when they come in here, they come in here to ruin this country, and the greatest danger from them is the aliens in this country, and they are putting enemies in all our important positions in this administration.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, this is off the record, I hope.

The testimony has been concluded and the witness cannot continue.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. It has been concluded.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move that all her testimony be stricken out.

Mr. KEARNEY. I second the motion.

Mr. ELLIS. Well, I object to that. I may not agree altogether, but I presume this lady is an American citizen.

Mrs. WATERS. My forefathers founded this Republic. I have a right to defend this Republic.

Mr. ELLIS. I do not agree with every statement she has made, but I agree with her right to make it.

Mrs. WATERS. And these people are enemies coming in here as Trojan horses. And the Chinese race is a yellow race the white people have to fight, and if you are going to flood this country with the yellow race, I want to know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Lady, you have concluded.

Mrs. WATERS. I asked you if you have any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. No further questions. A motion is before the committee to strike out all that testimony.

Mrs. WATERS. That is good American testimony—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, lady, will you please leave the witness stand? You have finished your testimony. Why can't you act like a lady and stop screaming?

Mrs. WATERS. Have you done the fair thing to strike out my testimony? And I have conducted myself as a lady.

The CHAIRMAN. How many sons do you have in the war?

Mrs. WATERS. I am the widow of a World War veteran. I do not have to have any sons. I have two daughters in this war, both of them serving the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, lady, no one wants to ask you any further questions.

Mrs. WATERS. I am objecting to my testimony not becoming a part of it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the committee to decide; not for you.

Mr. McCOWEN. Mr. Chairman, I should like for our distinguished colleague to modify his motion.

Mr. LESINSKI. I will withdraw it.

Mr. KEARNEY. I will withdraw the second.

Mr. McCOWEN. There are some parts of it that should be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn the meeting until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until Thursday, May 27, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dewey, you may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES F. DEWEY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. MASON. Be seated.

Mr. DEWEY. If you do not mind, I would rather stand.

Mr. MASON. You think better when you stand?

Mr. DEWEY. I think better, and I always like to stand before such a distinguished committee and such a distinguished chairman.

Mr. Chairman, in the first place, I wish to thank you and the members of this committee for your permission to appear before you as a witness.

There have been a number of witnesses, I understand, before this committee, who have brought out various points of view in regard to the subject which is now before you.

I wish to attack the whole situation probably from a little different angle than some of the other witnesses, not that I have any less appreciation of its significance as regards the well-being of the world and our relationship with one of our most cherished allies, the Chinese Government, who are fighting so vigorously and so successfully; but I want to attack the matter from the economic point of view of the aftermath of the war, which will surely be complicated when victory is gained for us all.

At the present time there is a large meeting, I understand, at Virginia Hot Springs, and that is discussing the feeding of the world.

We also know of the four freedoms for which we are fighting, and two of those are freedom from fear and freedom from want. However, I might say, these are most nebulous unless we implement them.

You can only have freedom from want if you have a job. If you have ability to earn, you have freedom from want, which gives you a certain amount of freedom from fear.

We hear a great deal of the repercussions that are going to occur as regards to employment after this war is over.

At the present time we have over 50,000,000 people in the labor force and we know that we have many millions of our boys in the armed services who will be coming back seeking jobs.

We know that the President is constantly alarmed over the possibilities of inflation, doing all in his power now to prohibit inflation by the rolling back of prices, by price control, rationing, and price ceilings.

Whether these can be carried on when victory comes and we get back to our civilian ways of life, I do not know, but I am very definitely of the opinion that one of the best ways to control inflation is by having an economy of plenty.

An economy of plenty means that there must be plenty of things to buy, and to manufacture those things there must be plenty of jobs.

With the tremendous income that is here in the United States today, there will be vast savings seeking outlets of expenditure, but when we are manufacturing those things which these savings will purchase, may have a surplus; we will have a surplus of a great many types of machines, tool machinery, with which we are pretty well supplied at the present time, but which must be sold in other markets.

Let us consider the Old World to the east of us in Europe, those countries are going to be in a very difficult situation. Their production ability is going to be reduced and their buying power will also be decreased.

They will not have much but manufactured goods that they can send to the United States in payment of the things that they will want to purchase of us.

In other words, what they call the balance, the international balance of trade, will be very unfavorable to most of the European countries.

I appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House on February 12, and proposed a plan for a bank called the Bank of International Cooperation which, in reality, is an international Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The purpose of that bank is to supply credit and purchasing power to those countries that have been devastated in Europe throughout the war. But I think that those countries will have difficulty over many, many months and many, many years in paying off the credit that we will extend to them. They will have to be very long-term credits.

If you will recall after the last war, the service on the debts owed to us by European nations were defaulted only because of the inability of those countries to transfer commitments to us in dollars. We did not want to take their goods because their goods came in competition with the manufactures of the American workmen. They did not have gold to send and they did not have raw materials. As a result, debt payments on account of World War I broke down. And I foresee the same thing occurring after this war, as far as Europe is concerned, unless we set up some long-term credit institution such as a Bank of International Cooperation or some such credit machinery that will make very long-term credits.

I seem to be talking only of the credits of Europe, but I only wanted to make a comparison of that situation with the situation that will exist in the Orient, and particularly in China.

Here is a nation of from 400 to 500 millions of people, one of the oldest civilizations known throughout the world, that has not yet had what we might call an industrial revolution.

China, for one reason or the other has not accepted up to the present time, many of the Western methods of doing business or manufacturing.

China has suffered a good many internal difficulties that probably has held her back. But I believe now, this terrible war through which the whole world is passing, has brought Western methods and ideas to the Chinese people in a very hard way.

They understand now the purpose of airplanes, the purpose of tanks which, after all, are only tractors with armaments on them; and the fighter planes are only means of transportation over the vast continent of China. The Chinese people have met Western civilization and I believe that the industrial revolution in China is almost ready to take place and will take place the minute this war is over with. Hence, I think that China will become one of the greatest world markets that exists.

Chinese economy is almost complementary to our own.

China is an agricultural country at the present time, but her agricultural production is on a low basis as compared to our own. They have vast territories, fertile, but unproductive. They require agricultural machinery to develop the food possibilities of China. And yet if they do develop those food possibilities, for many, many years they will never come in competition with our own agricultural markets. That is because the standard of living, as far as food is concerned, in China is not high, and they can double and treble their food production and yet not have enough to properly feed their own vast millions of citizens.

So, as far as our agricultural economy is concerned here in the United States, we have nothing to worry about, as far as competition with Chinese agriculture is concerned.

And yet, on the other hand, China will gladly, I am sure, purchase and use our agricultural machinery, and they will develop plants, once they are instructed how to do it, and machinery to do it, to develop the various agricultural machinery now used on our own farms, and manufacture those things themselves.

Again, think of the transportation system in China. It is a great continent, the greatest continent, probably next to Africa, that exists, and it will be one great united country, I believe. Think of the transportation requirements. Think of the railroads, the roads, and the thousand and one things just for the ordinary means of transportation that have to be developed.

That assistance has to come from some industrial nation. And here, again, we are in a position to aid China in developing her transportation, both by roads on which will roll automobiles and trucks, and the railroads on which will go the locomotives and the ordinary railroad transportation.

That has to come from somewhere in the first instance, and the best country to supply that is this United States. We have a surplus of those things which, after the war, will be seeking an outlet, and here is this great country that will need them.

I could go on and mention a thousand and one items that will be needed in the ordinary daily life of the Chinese, which at the present moment and for many years to come, they will not be able to make in sufficient quantity to supply their own requirements, but of which we will have a surplus.

Certainly we will have demands from our returning soldiers and our present workmen for jobs to make these various items that I have mentioned.

That is splendid. There will also be demands upon us for supplies and certain goods and requirements by friendly nations.

That will be true from all over the world. But the difference with China is China can pay for that which she receives from us.

China has practically every natural resource within her borders except high-grade oil, petroleum.

She has one of the greatest undeveloped natural resources of all; she has many of these ores that will go into the new economy of light metals, and I foresee, as do many, that the economy of the future will be an economy of light metals. No longer will we use just steel and iron. We will use other metals combined with beryllium, tungsten ore, and these other metals that go into making steel harder than the hardest steel that we have today, and much lighter.

Now, many of those ores come from China. We need them all. We need a thousand and one of the other items that China produces which are in the form of raw materials which go into manufacture and give our men jobs and which are returned to China and the rest of the world as finished products.

Hence, China, except for some preliminary credits to get going, will not be caught in the same position as were the countries of Europe which were unable to produce foreign exchange, as far as we were concerned, because they did not have any raw materials to ship us, except in a limited amount. They only had things that we already had.

So China offers a particularly advantageous mutual market for the United States and herself. She wants the things that we have, and we need the raw materials which China possesses. Even without real development in China, we have always taken more from China than she has taken from us.

In other words, China is one of the few countries of the world that has a favorable balance of trade with us; which means China can meet her obligations, her international exchange obligations. And with the new economy going forward and the development of the tremendous amount of raw material resources that exist, China will, I am sure, still continue to have a favorable balance of trade with us, and be able to pay for those things that she takes.

Now, I would like to refer again, for just one moment—and I have taken a great deal of your time—to the industrial revolution that is due to take place in China.

You can almost make a comparison to the United States.

We forget that it was only as late as 1866 that the first railroad went from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast, only some 75 or 80 years ago.

China has few railroads today, and you look at our maps and it almost looks like a spider's web of railroads. Compare China with one or two lines running along the coast or running a short ways inland.

We had our industrial revolution—that practically grew out of our Civil War—we, a small country with a population of about thirty-odd million at that time, as compared with one-hundred-and-thirty-million-odd today; a debtor nation, struggling along after one of the

most bitter internecine strifes that had ever taken place in the world's history, the North against the South; but it probably started our industrial revolution and our prosperity.

China is going through her great trial now, but I am as sure as I stand here that the Chinese industrial revolution will come after this war.

The CHAIRMAN. If we can keep China together.

Mr. DEWEY. If we can keep China together, and if China is treated as she ought to be, one of our closest and best friends.

Now, there has been some talk on the part of labor as to what would happen if the great myriads of Chinese men and women should come here and compete with American labor.

In the first place, there are only 37,000, according to the Bureau of Census, alien Chinese in the United States today—37,242.

And if I am correctly informed, should the Chinese be put on a quota with the other nations of the earth, they would have the right to have 107 Chinese come in annually.

In the first place, there would be no competition with labor, and if labor is wise—they will realize, reciprocity with China will permit providing the things for China—the manufactured goods and implements and tools—that China will need and can pay for.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will my colleague develop this point—I do not like to interrupt you—but I want to say a few words on this particular point he is making now. The C. I. O. supported this legislation on this basis, they agree with the view you are presenting now, and the A. F. L. has presented a picture to the contrary, a rather weak argument in which I was sadly disappointed. The A. F. L. representative claimed that the enactment of this legislation would interfere with our soldiers' finding employment when they come back; and one of my colleagues at that end of the table, I believe—Mr. Allen? No, Mr. Elmer, I think, was it not?—developed sort of a sketch that this argument you are presenting now, which others have presented too, was only a camouflage to break down the quota; and I wish my colleague, Mr. Dewey, would develop that, knowing his background and his ability to discuss this problem.

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Chairman, that is one of the greatest arguments for economic and industrial cooperation in the development of China.

When the depression of the thirties came on us, there were many of the economists who stated that it was a depression of overproduction and underconsumption; that we produced too much, too many things, that we were unable to consume; and as a result, the inventories of all sorts of consumer goods piled up, prices broke, men lost jobs.

Now, it does not take any great amount of acumen or knowledge of economics or business or trade to understand that if there is a great group of worthy people that wish to buy the goods of a friendly country and can pay for them, it is a good thing for the workmen of the country that manufactures those goods.

I cannot understand the position taken by the American Federation of Labor nor the American Legion, of which I have long been a member, since they are looking naturally to the well-being of the boys who are now in the armed service and will come home.

What they want to do is to find jobs for those boys in manufacturing various things, but if people will not buy those things, then we

will again have the difficulty of overproduction and underconsumption, and in my first statement I said there will be few markets in Europe for our production goods.

Most of those countries have developed, as a result of war, many manufacturing processes for war efforts which will be converted into civilian production.

The same thing will happen in South America.

So our manufactured goods are going to come in competition with a great production of goods from all over the world, except in China, which has not been able to develop her production requirements, her factories, for two reasons.

In the first place, she has been subject to constant attack by her enemy and our enemy, the Japanese. Her factories have been struck down, and those sections in which they did exist have been invaded and they probably would be destroyed.

So China will come out of this war practically bare of productive facilities, and this country has the credit possibilities; we have the productive possibilities; and we will want to see jobs for returning soldiers and keep employed those men who are now working at good jobs.

But if we do not have any place to sell the goods that they produce, why, they are going to lose their jobs.

I would almost like to enter a debate on that subject with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the commander of the American Legion, who would say me nay on that point of view. I know I am right, and I know I am right from a practical standpoint, because I have dealt with the matter in a practical way when I was living in Poland and when we tried to develop jobs for those Polish people.

Mr. MASON. Congressman, for your information, the attitude of both the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion is the historically long attitude that they have had, and neither one of the two have grasped the fact that conditions have absolutely changed insofar as the economic picture is concerned in connection with China, and that is the point they have not had presented to them, and I am quite sure when either one, or both, have had that point presented, that this is an emergency measure, and it means jobs in the long run for American soldiers, returning after the war, that both of them will change their attitude.

Mr. DEWEY. I wonder what my very distinguished friend and colleague from Illinois, Mr. Mason, thinks about this:

Suppose the United States had never had an industrial revolution and our market of 130 millions of people did not exist in this world today, what kind of an economy would the world have had?

Now, China has the same possibility—intelligent people, honest hard-working people that have not yet had their industrial revolution.

This is a new horizon for the world and I hope that we, the American people, can take our part in the development.

I have very little more to offer except to say again, that China possesses within its continental limits hundreds of items of raw materials that this country needs. They will come in no competition whatsoever but will be a means by which they will pay for the manufactured goods which they, themselves, need and which they may purchase from us.

And I sincerely hope that this distinguished committee, leaving out altogether from my argument, as I did, the point of view of what is right as regards a great ally, if they want to get down to cold, hard, facts of the future, that they will remember that if the United States helps China in her industrial revolution, we will make a great and lasting friend, and open a great and lasting market which will continue to give jobs to our workmen for many years to come.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you not believe that by removing this restriction and by placing them on an equal basis with other nationals under a specific quota, based on the census of 1890, it would greatly help to bring about this friendly relation?

Mr. DEWEY. I not only think that, but I think it is most necessary that it be done, not only from that point of view but because they are our allies, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us and with our boys.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I have just one more question.

In winding up your statement, I wish you would give us a little information as to your background. I happen to know about it but I would like to have it for the record.

Now, you know something about Europe.

Mr. DEWEY. Yes, sir. For the record, I was Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, 1924, 25, 26, and 27.

I was nominated by the Federal Reserve Board to the Polish Government as its financial adviser, and was accepted by that Government and became financial adviser residing in Warsaw with my wife and children during 1928, 1929, and 1930.

I was nominated a director of the National Bank of Poland, and was later made honorary director for life.

I have spent a good deal of time in Europe, not only during those 3 years, but have been back there since 1931, almost annually, in carrying out the aftermath of my work.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. DEWEY. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Unless there are any questions—

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Dewey, in regard to these post-war developments and the markets, do you think that we could have the markets of Asia without competition? Would it be as smooth as your picture appears to be?

Now, England is a great manufacturer of machinery; Germany has been. I do not know what the post-war will hold for her.

Mr. DEWEY. Well, nothing is ever smooth in world competition, particularly in industrial competition, but I would always rather deal with a country which knows that we have no imperialistic ideas and never had any, and I challenge any one of the other countries to put themselves in the same role.

Who was it that forgave the Boxer Indemnity?

The United States.

Did any other countries? No.

We waived the extraterritorial provision.

Did other countries? Not unless they were forced to.

We are a nonimperialistic country. We seek to get on with our neighbors; we seek to grow with them, and with all due respect to these nations and the older countries, they always want a little more than the contract implies.

I have seen a great many of the contracts.

We would make a loan to a foreign country during the twenties. We loaned a dollar. We asked to have it paid back.

We send our goods. We like to have them paid for. But we never asked for something special that was in a secret treaty.

Now, I think that our system is the best, and I think that China would appreciate that, in consideration of the attempted exploitation of her continent and of her wealth by other countries, in which we at times may have indulged, I regret to say, but it is not our practice of doing it.

Therefore I think that while there is always competition in goods, without competition industry does not go forward.

We do not ask for anything special. But I think the Chinese Government and the Chinese people would learn to seek our goods and deal with us in preference to most other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Dewey?

Mr. DEWEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LESINSKI. With your experience, is it not a fact that when you are trading with corporations or with factories, when you do your business in an honest way, is it not easier to do business then, especially when you know one another, than it is to go to a stranger from whom you have to fear he might stick something extra to the price?

Mr. DEWEY. There is no doubt of that at all, and it is particularly true of international trade.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. DEWEY. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Magnuson, of Washington, has bill H. R. 2309, along the lines of the Kennedy bill, and we will be glad to hear from him.

STATEMENT OF WARREN G. MAGNUSON, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. MAGNUSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee.

I first want to apologize for not being able to be here during the very detailed and intelligent discussion the committee has had on this proposed legislation. I was unfortunately called back to Seattle due to the death of my mother.

I think I should briefly discuss the legislative proposal. There are two bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. But first of all, along with the committee, I wish to extend my compliments to Mr. Dewey for his learned discussion of this whole problem.

I might say to the committee that my motive in the introduction of my bill was more or less based upon an angle other than post-war, but it has of course those aspects.

I have had some experience in the Orient, some experience with the Japanese, some experience with the Chinese.

I suppose my own district includes more Japanese residents than any other single district in the United States. I am looking at this

purely from a war standpoint first, and the purpose that I had in mind in introducing H. R. 2309 along those lines, was this:

The Japanese have had for many years a great propaganda machine in the Orient. They have been a little more alert about the situation than the other oriental countries in the development of their radio, their newspapers, and their means of espionage; and one of the things they have done to the wavering orientals, particularly in China during China's struggle to unite her people against what they felt was a common enemy, Japan, has been to use the Exclusion Act as a reason why the Chinese should not be our allies.

And I can say "Thank God for us that the Chinese, the intelligent Government of China today, in the encountering of the propaganda, has absolutely discounted that thing," but it is still a struggle for them to cope with.

I have seen hundreds of pamphlets; I have seen the translations of radio broadcasts to this effect: "Well, what are you fellows fooling around with the United States for, in this war when they won't even let you stand on the same basis as a Turk or Armenian or an Italian," and it has been a difficult job for the present Chungking government to keep some of these Chinese people in some of the remote provinces in the Orient together, because of that propaganda machine.

The purpose of the bill, therefore, is—well, let us say, it will give the Chungking government one of the greatest counterpropaganda weapons it could have.

I appreciate the historical opposition of the labor group, but as it has been well said there today, conditions have changed. The gentleman from Illinois pointed that out. Of course no one on this committee wants to see a flood of cheap labor, come into the United States.

But that is not the point of discussion. If that is true, then we can reduce all of the quotas and should. We would not want a great many people from any of the low-standard countries coming into this Nation after the war, particularly because of the situation of returning soldiers. But if that arises, then let us attack the quotas.

All I am attempting to do is to put China on the same basis as these other countries.

Oh, I know someone said here—I guess before the committee; I have had reports to that effect—"Well, why not put in the other countries in the Orient?"

That may be something to consider, but this, gentlemen, is a war measure, and a good one. I am not so sure about some of the other countries in the Orient.

I am not so sure about the unstinted loyalty of the Javanese, of those in Sumatra, and other places; but the Chinese have been our allies in the face of all this propaganda. That is the reason I think we ought to do this for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been on the other side?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I have been on the other side. I have had some little experience also in the war against the Japanese, and I know how tough they are going to be to whip.

We are going to be fighting Japan long after the peace in Europe. I am no military strategist, but those who are will tell you that the only way we are going to whip Japan ultimately is through her back door—China.

Maybe if we had passed a bill of this type 5 or 6 years ago we might have been able to help China cement her people. A million dollars 2 years ago in China would be worth a billion to us right now, in the defeat of Japan.

It is going to cost us just so much more.

And that is the reason for this bill. We are gradually working toward a post-war era wherein the greatest development will be in the Pacific.

The gentleman from New York has many times discussed our post-war relations with China and Russia. I think every man in this room is going to see the day when you can get in your automobile in Washington, D. C., and drive to China; and that is not too far-fetched.

It is only a few short miles across the Bering Strait.

Our air lines are branching off to China. We had a mass flight not long ago to Chungking. The aviators told me it was just as simple a job as flying across this country, and they made it in less than 40 hours.

We are going to be able to step into an air-line office here and be in China the next day. Leaving here in the morning, in comparative comfort, we will arrive in China the following night.

All these things are factors that enter into this, and I think the Chinese are entitled to our consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. We will need a new map after the war.

Mr. MAGNUSON. We used to export somewhere around one-fourth of our lumber supply to China.

After the war China has to completely rebuild. It is going to mean the salvation, with the proper relation with China, of the lumber industry, which is the biggest industry in Washington and Oregon.

And in many of these things we are going to have the help of China, we are going to have to have it to keep Japan in her place after this war.

I understand from my able friend over there that my bill will involve approximately 107 Chinese. It is based on the quota system.

The CHAIRMAN. They would have to comply with all other immigration requirements, like every other country.

Mr. MAGNUSON. And I might say that the objection that has been made here, that Chinese who reside in other countries where there are quotas, that they might have some consideration. There probably should be some restricting language, because my intention was to confine the bill to resident subjects of the Chungking Government and not Chinese from all over the rest of the world. Such language can be very easily placed in the bill.

I might say to the chairman that from a purely legal standpoint it was very difficult to draw this act. I had to dig into 18 or 19 Chinese exclusion acts. It was a problem but the intention was only to limit it to resident subjects of the present Republic of China.

I have no fear, and I am sure no one in this country has any fear, of a few Chinese who may come in here.

There are some great people in China, some great scholars, some great doctors, some great writers, some great artists. I do not think they would hurt the cultural life, the economic life, the political life, or the scientific life of this country one iota.

As a matter of fact, they would add a great deal to it. They would add more to it than any Japanese we have ever let into this country.

All they have done is mimic what we have done and then go back and prepare to stab us in the back with the things that we taught them.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish some of our other colleagues were here to hear your statement. They always run out on me when some one is here to give them some information.

Mr. MASON. May I ask?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go on.

Mr. MASON. My colleague, you stress this as a measure to offset the Japanese propaganda that has been staggering.

You know, of course, that our State Department has taken one of the legs out from under that Japanese propaganda by surrendering voluntarily our extraterritorial rights?

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is correct.

Mr. MASON. The other leg is absolutely based on these exclusion acts and now, if the Congress would pull out the other leg from under that Japanese propaganda machine, they would have no leg to stand on, and it would be a great war measure and help to hold the Chinese people together until we can get material war aid to them.

Mr. MAGNUSON. No question about that. And as a matter of fact, it would take all of the wind out of their propaganda sails, and, secondly, it would make China a permanent ally. We need her as such.

Suppose the Chinese—and God knows they are worn out now—suppose the great mass of Chinese people get tired of this war and the Japanese say, "Let us get together." We would be countless years defeating the Japanese.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think this is going to aid them.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think so, as far as propaganda is concerned.

Mr. BENNETT. Do you think this will stop it?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think this will be one of the things that will help to stop it. It would be one of the things that the present Chungking Government could use in counter-propaganda to their own people, and which is very difficult because the dissemination of ideas in the vast Chinese Republic is difficult. They do not have the radios, the newspapers, and the things that we have.

I really want to stress this war angle because I know how difficult a job we are going to have with those Japanese not only in war but in the post-war world job of keeping them in their proper place.

Mr. BENNETT. Why do you call this a war measure? I do not quite follow you.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Because the Japanese propaganda today, to separate, to disjoin the whole Orient.

Mr. BENNETT. You cannot stop propaganda by passing a law.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Well, we could surely stop the Japanese from saying to the Chinese—

Mr. BENNETT. Well, could we?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think so.

Mr. BENNETT. The Japanese do not tell the truth in their propaganda.

Mr. MAGNUSON. But the Chungking Government has no present counter-propaganda. Passage of this law would allow the Chungking Government to say, "That is not true. The United States Government has said that we are equal to all other nations of the world."

Mr. BENNETT. Well, here we have Earl Browder in this country saying that through the action of our Government, we were mobilizing a million Chinese troops. You cannot stop Browder, can you?

Mr. MAGNUSON. You cannot, but the American Press and the American public can discount it.

Mr. BENNETT. He is still passing it out. I do not know how many people believe it.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not know how many people believe it. I have seen hundreds of pamphlets passed out. I saw this in the Orient even when I was a kid, when I lived there for 7 months. I saw even then they had started with this insidious work, and many times it looked as though they might get China as ally just on this basis.

I do not say it is the only thing. It is one of the things.

We owe it to our ally to keep them with us.

What can a Chinese say? How can he answer this, when the Jap says, "They even have Germans and Italians under a quota. but they won't let you in."

How can they answer that?

Mr. BENNETT. Well, they say it is just a gesture.

Here is what the Japanese will say, I assume. They will say, "Here; you have 450,000,000 of your people. Now, the United States is so big-hearted they are going to let 107 in."

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is not the point. The 107 is incidental. They will say that China is now on the same basis in the minds and hearts and spirit of the American people as all other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that statement was clearly made by Dr. Judd yesterday, that it is not the number of people who would be permitted to come in that is important but the placing of the Chinese on an equal basis with our other Allies—that is on a quota basis.

Mr. MASON. Even if every quota was suspended, not one Chinaman were admitted.

Mr. MAGNUSON. And it may be entirely possible in the post-war world that you will want to cut all quotas.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a big job to undertake now. I know that there may have to be some readjustments after the war.

Mr. MAGNUSON. You may have to cut them all down.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we ought to cut out some of them like Germany, Italy.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not know. I am not making any statement on that for the present, but there are a lot of things that may have to be done, but why undertake that now on this measure?

Mr. BENNETT. I think for the same reason, this should be postponed until after the whole general situation—after we discuss the whole general situation after the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I disagree with my colleague, and there seems to be a great number of people throughout the country who disagree with him on that.

From my observation, from the number of people who have contacted the committee in support of the bills it seems imperative that the Chinese exclusion law be repealed now. After the war it will not be as effective. If it is going to be done, let us do it now, when it will do the most good, and show the Chinese people we are going to do something we believe they are entitled to expect from us. I

know during my service of 22 years on this committee, that question has come up time and time again, and we did not have the nerve—let us put it that way—to sit down and discuss this question openly as we are trying to do now.

Mr. MASON. We did not propose to discuss it now, but the Japanese themselves have brought it to the front.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. In addition to it being the just and fair thing to do, it is going to help us win this war and keep China together. Certainly 107 people will not disrupt the economic structure of our country.

Mr. BENNETT. Oh, I would say if it would be of any material aid in winning the war, I would be for it 100 percent; but I am not convinced of that.

Mr. MAGNUSON. May I suggest the committee should have the restrictive language in the bill that it does not apply to Chinese who are in the other countries?

I merely meant it to apply to the Chinese residents of the Chungking Government, and I had no idea, and I do not think this committee has, that this should in any way be interpreted as an attempt to in any way confuse our labor situation; if there is going to be any such problem after the war, or any such problem that we can see coming, we probably ought to restrict all quotas. But let us have the Chinese at least on an equal basis with the Germans, the Russians, the Turks, and Armenians, and all the rest of them.

Mr. McCOWEN. Would you say to remove the quotas from now on for a definite period of time and also to remove this thing the Chinese do not like, would be satisfactory to the Chinese?

Mr. MAGNUSON. No. I do not think the Chinese would want us to remove all quotas.

Mr. MASON. No; the Chinese would consider themselves treated on a par and as an equal if all quotas were shut off, and if their quota of 107 was shut off, too.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Oh, sure.

Mr. McCOWEN. That is what I meant.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Oh, I did not understand. I think if we wanted to cut out all quotas we would be in a position to.

Mr. McCOWEN. I think the stigma on the Chinese has been a mistake.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is the question we are dealing with; whether there should be any quota at all is a question the committee would have to discuss in their wisdom separately.

Mr. McCOWEN. If the stigma were removed from the Chinese and all quotas were stopped for a time, do you think that would answer this question?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not think it would answer the particular question until you first put the Chinese under the quota and then approach the second question as to whether you should have quotas, the extent of quotas, and the degree of the quotas.

Mr. McCOWEN. Well, I do not agree with you on that point. The big idea is to remove this stigma, is it not?

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is right.

Mr. McCOWEN. And I think the whole committee would favor that because there are certainly some other people that have done a lot

of bad things, and I do not know of any bad that the Chinese have done. So it seems to me that to remove all quotas for a time and to remove the stigma would answer this question.

Mr. MAGNUSON. It would answer it, if you would amend your laws. If, in their wisdom, this committee decided all quotas should be removed; if, when the quotas were again restored the Chinese were also included.

Mr. McCOWEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now before us, as pointed out by Mr. Magnuson, is placing these people on a basis of equality to put them on a quota basis.

If and when, in post-war considerations, it should be considered a wise step to cut quotas, then the Chinese would be affected like all others who have a quota. They would have no objections to that.

Do you see my point?

Mr. McCOWEN. Well, with respect to our distinguished chairman, I do understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad that you do.

Mr. McCOWEN. And my statement still stands.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I think the two are different subjects.

Mr. MASON. Removing the quotas would still keep the Chinese on a par with all other people?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes.

Mr. MASON. And that would be satisfactory to the Chinese people; you agree at least to that extent?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Let me put it this way: I think the Chinese are only asking for equality with all other nations.

Mr. MASON. And if that equality means no quota, all right; if that equality means a different ratio after the war is over, that is all right; as long as they are on the same basis?

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is right.

Mr. BENNETT. As a matter of fact, China is treated exactly the same in practice as all other Oriental countries; is that not true, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. No. Because other Orientals have, through some previous laws, entered this country.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, India and the rest of the Asiatic countries, even Japan—we have no specific exclusion law.

The CHAIRMAN. No specific one, but we have a specific one against China.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, in practice, do we let in any more Japanese than we do the Chinese? Well, then, if you eliminate this specific exclusion law and follow the same practice that you do with Japan, would you accomplish the same thing without giving them preferred consideration by putting them on a quota basis?

Mr. MAGNUSON. You may accomplish it if this committee thinks it is desirable to remove all quotas.

Mr. MASON. You do not get the gentlemen's point. The gentleman's point is this, if this specific law which excludes the Chinese is removed and they are still prevented from coming in or becoming citizens by gentlemen's agreements, as we have with Japan, after they had gotten 210,000 here, seven times what the Chinese have, then

they would be on a par with other orientals, but not on a par with the other nations of the world, which are equal allies.

That is your point, is it not?

Mr. BENNETT. Yes.

Mr. MASON. The question is, then, Would they be satisfied to be placed on a par with the other orientals but not on a par with all of the nations of the earth with which they are allied and fighting?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Well, I do not know whether they would be satisfied or not. I do not think it would be fair to them.

Mr. MASON. Well, I would not, if I were one of them.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not think it would be fair to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Paul Yee here?

STATEMENT OF PAUL YEE, ELECTRONICS ENGINEER, WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. LESINSKI. You may continue.

Mr. YEE. I am electronics engineer with the War Department.

Mr. LESINSKI. You may proceed, Mr. Yee.

Mr. YEE. Mr. Chairman and members: I am not here as a member of any specific organization, Chinese organization. I do not belong to any Chinese organization. As a matter of fact, I am an American citizen, third generation, and what I have to say is very brief and is just to show you the side of—Oh, you might say of American-Chinese.

Now, it seems to me as though the big point of the opposition toward this bill—one of the points—is the fact that it would bring about cheap labor, competitive labor, which would destroy the standards that you have got set up.

Now, I would like to say that that is not true. As a matter of fact, I am in a war industry, and I have specific contacts with war plants, and the Chinese that are working in these plants I can definitely say are not working as coolie labor. As a matter of fact, they are working as specialists. They have special faculties.

I can take one instance in Westinghouse, in the special electronic work. They have two Chinese engineers there and they work on some of the most important secret radar work today, radar and radio equipment.

This also applies to R. C. A. They have two men there. They are at the top of the staff in their research laboratory.

Where I work I am connected with the War Labor Board and the War Manpower Commission, and we read about bottlenecks in our war production and I would like to present to this committee something which is not known to the public.

Especially in New Jersey where the plants are manufacturing communications equipment, the bottleneck is in the manipulation of fine wire and in precision work in making resistors and coil winding, and so forth, and the top workers—I do not want to say it because

I look Chinese and I am American, but as a matter of fact, having discussed it with the foremen and superintendents of these plants, these Chinese boys and girls have shown in their records a production that is unequaled by any other nationality in these plants.

Now, these people do not look for jobs; as a matter of fact I have placed people where work was shut down, could not continue; and I have placed Chinese in these plants and they have gone in and they have done a good job.

With this bill allowing 107 coming into the country, I can definitely say that there would be no competition for American labor, and the ones that do come in and go after this kind of work would take work where you need these special skills.

As I say, I appear Chinese and I am an American citizen. I have three brothers in the service, and a brother-in-law in the service, and they are out to do a good job.

My brother-in-law is connected with the Adjutant General's Office and he is second in command in one of the camps in Illinois; he has worked his way up there and they like him.

I have a brother in the Air Corps and he looks as Chinese as I do, although he is a citizen, and he has done a good job.

Probably not all Americans have met, or are acquainted with an American Chinese who is actually living here and who has become assimilated, and I like to be here just to show you.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know something about your ancestors, and so forth, and you know something about China. Do you think this will be a help to the Chinese, as a struggling nation at this time, to put them on an equal basis?

Mr. YEE. It certainly would.

The CHAIRMAN. Get right down to that point.

Mr. YEE. Even with the Chinese in this country, although they never complain or say anything about it, there is a feeling. Well, there is the Exclusion Act and people here cannot become naturalized, but if this were passed it would certainly increase the friendly relationship between the Chinese, the American Chinese and this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would it increase that relationship, do you believe—I am not asking you for a positive statement—do you believe it would help the relationship between China and the United States?

Mr. YEE. Yes; it would. I am acquainted with many of the Chinese here who are not citizens and who are connected with the Government, and this idea—not the idea of bringing 107 people in here, but the idea of being included is a very strong point. Although it is not talked right out, it is a strong point in their minds, and it is bad.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Any questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Yee.

Is Dr. Min Hin Li here?

Mr. FARRINGTON. J. R. Farrington, the Delegate from Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have a prepared statement?

STATEMENT OF HON. J. R. FARRINGTON, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS FROM HAWAII

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I wish to make a statement which will be brief and which covers an aspect of this problem which I think is pertinent to its consideration.

The number of Chinese at present residing in the United States is 106,000. Of these, 29,000 are residing in the Territory of Hawaii—

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. FARRINGTON. Twenty-nine thousand while the balance of approximately 77,000 are residing on the mainland.

Of the Chinese in Hawaii, all but 5,000 are American citizens.

In the country, as a whole, only 1 out of slightly less than every 1,300 persons is of the Chinese race, but in Hawaii 6 out of every 100 persons is Chinese.

The position of the Chinese in Hawaii is infinitely stronger from a numerical standpoint than in any other part of our country. The only State in which the position of the Chinese is in any way comparable to their position in Hawaii is in California, where the total number of these people is 39,000, but here their presence pales into insignificance in the face of the total population which exceeds 6,000,000.

The people of Hawaii therefore are in a position to speak with genuine authority on the character of the Chinese, their influence in the community in which they live, their assimilability, their standards of living, and their loyalty and usefulness as American citizens.

The first Chinese came to Hawaii almost 90 years ago. They constituted an important part of the population of the Islands when the latter, by their own volition, became a part of this country by annexation. Their position in the Islands is still a strong one.

Today the number of these people who are not American citizens is negligible, and in addition, they are all of advanced years and soon will all disappear. For all practical purposes, therefore, the Chinese in Hawaii are entirely Americans.

The Chinese as a group must be regarded as Americans and judged by those standards.

For the most part, they are Christians, having representation in virtually all Protestant denominations and in the Catholic Church.

Their language is and has been, for a generation, English. Few of them read Chinese and those who speak the language well are few and far between.

They live and work by American standards. They have adopted almost completely the American pattern of family life.

They have attained positions of leadership in virtually all fields of community activity—professional, commercial, educational, political, and civic.

Although in the minority from the racial standpoint, they have won the complete confidence of the people of the islands as well as the representative of the islands of the Federal Government, and more particularly of the United States Army and Navy.

Their record denies completely the allegations that they have adhered to low standards of living, moral degradation, and the

mysterious influence of the so-called tongs and like organizations. Such ideas about the Chinese exist chiefly in the fancy of those who know nothing of the record of these people.

The Chinese have yielded completely to American influence and constitute, as American citizens, an element of great strength in a community whose position today is of vital importance to the country in this war, and of tremendous significance in the future of the Pacific.

The record of Hawaii is proof that the Chinese can be accepted into the life of this country without injurious or disastrous results, and on the contrary, can become a great asset to it.

It is of great value in the relations of this country to the friendly people of Asia in that it shows that in a vital American jurisdiction the people of Chinese ancestry have been accorded the same privileges as all other Americans.

It is a practical demonstration that the extension to the Chinese people of these privileges can be achieved without detriment to this country, and on the contrary, to the great benefit of it.

The response should be most reassuring to those who have some doubt as to whether the repeal of the Chinese exclusion acts will be attended with imaginary rather than real benefits in strengthening the friendship of the Chinese for this country, and build the confidence of the Chinese people in the American processes of democracy and the American sense of fair play, and inspiring the continued resistance to the cruel and ruthless onslaught of Japan.

The loyalty of the Americans of Chinese ancestry to this country is complete and intense. The enactment of this legislation will constitute one of the happiest days in the history of their evolution into American citizenship.

It will revitalize the important influence these people in Hawaii have exerted now for more than two generations in establishing democratic processes in China.

Sun Yat Sen received some of his early training in the American schools of Hawaii. One of his sons returned to Hawaii for his high-school training and is today a prominent citizen of China.

For many years Hawaii was the refuge and inspiration of the movement to establish a Republic in China.

Americans of Chinese ancestry are held in the highest regard by the Americans of Hawaii no matter what their racial antecedents. They have earned the confidence of their fellow citizens by a record that not only reflects great credit on them, but vindicates the wisdom of extending to them the privileges of American citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Delegate, I would like to ask you a question, but you do not have to answer it if it is in any way going to embarrass the situation, and the same question may be propounded to you in executive session.

The Chair has received in the last few years some adverse reports on certain Japanese groups in Hawaii. Well, now, if you feel that you do not want to answer in public, I just want you to bear in mind that question may be propounded to you in executive session.

Mr. FARRINGTON. I am perfectly willing to answer the question by saying that that does not relate directly to the problem before the committee.

The Japanese portion of our population presents a problem that has been dealt with by the civil and military authorities very constructively and very successfully from the standpoint of the war effort.

At the proper time I will be very happy to discuss the details of it with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. FARRINGTON. In the meantime I am particularly anxious that the committee hear Dr. Li, whose residence is in Honolulu.

By way of introduction, I may say he is one of the leading citizens of the islands, and has held positions of great responsibility, which have come to him through the confidence that he has won among people of other racial extractions.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to hear him.

STATEMENT OF DR. MIN HIN LI, A RESIDENT OF HONOLULU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Dr. LI. My name is Dr. Min Hin Li. I am appearing here today at the request of several members of this committee, in support of legislation you are now considering.

I am an American citizen, and was born in Hawaii, went through public schools there and attended college at the University of North Dakota, Michigan, and Kansas, receiving a bachelor's degree; and my degree as doctor of medicine at Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia.

I am a past commander of the Hawaiian Department of the American Legion, whose membership is largely made up of Caucasian-Americans, from the mainland. It was my privilege to represent Hawaii at different national conventions of the Legion, as chairman of the Hawaiian delegation and am at present the alternate national committeeman.

I believe that the way I can be of most help to you is to tell you, from the record of the people of Hawaii, how the Chinese have taken their part in the community, and what they have contributed to the islands.

The Chinese can be assimilated, and have been, as the record shows. Most of them in Hawaii are Christians, as pointed out by my delegate from Hawaii. With few exceptions, they speak nothing but English.

The census of 1940 placed the number of Chinese in Hawaii at 28,774, of whom 23,831 are citizens of the United States, and the remaining 4,943 are aliens who cannot become citizens under existing law. The Chinese in Hawaii constitute nearly one-quarter of the 106,278 Chinese in the United States in 1940.

For more than a century—a century and a half—members of the Chinese race have contributed much to the cultural, economic, political, and social development of Hawaii. This contribution is based on fundamentals of the Chinese character which America esteems—wisdom, loyalty to the adopted land, adaptability, courage, intelligence, perseverance, integrity, social responsibility, and a sense of humor. American citizens of Chinese ancestry, and their alien kin, are self-respecting and respected members of the Hawaiian community.

Their contribution has been well rounded. It has not been channeled into one restricted field but has been distributed through all the varied activities existing in a democratic and cosmopolitan community.

In agriculture, education, business, and industry, the arts, sciences, and learned professions, in Government service and community affairs, Hawaii's Chinese have played a productive role. In so doing, they have won the confidence of the community in which they live.

Individual Chinese drifted into Hawaii just before the dawn of the century. By 1845 Chinese are reported to have taken out naturalization papers in the old kingdom of Hawaii. The year 1850 marked the beginning of a substantial increase in the number of Chinese in the islands. In that year 195 of them reached Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. In 1896 there were 19,382 Chinese in the islands. In 1898, when the efforts of Hawaii and the United States culminated in annexation of the islands by joint resolution of Congress, all citizens of Hawaii became citizens of the United States. At the same time, terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act were automatically extended to the islands, thus barring further immigration of Chinese.

In Hawaii today the second generation, American citizens born to the immigrant Chinese, are discharging their responsibilities as adult members of the community, while their children, who form the third generation, are either in public school or have recently graduated.

The graduation records of the University of Hawaii, Harvard, Yale, California, Princeton, Tulane, Texas, and other universities and medical schools, engineering schools, and law schools, contain the names of many Chinese from Hawaii, who have returned there to carry on distinguished professional careers.

Paul C. Goo, of Honolulu, has written, "professional men have come forth from the rank and file of sons of former plantation laborers, and are today surgeons, physicians, dentists, lawyers, architects, and experts in Government agricultural experiment stations." In government they are represented in elective positions in the Territorial legislature and county boards of supervisors, in responsible appointive positions and in civil-service capacities.

The Chinese have exerted a profound influence in agriculture, the basic economy of the islands. Their labor made possible the development of Hawaii's sugar industry into the leading industry of Hawaii, although today relatively few Chinese are working as plantation field hands. They have made a similar contribution to the pineapple industry, which, with sugar, furnishes the bulk of island employment, pay rolls, and tax returns to the Territorial and Federal Governments.

Production of food for immediate consumption is of great importance in the Territory, particularly because of shipping problems imposed by the war. In that regard Chinese are helping materially, both in the fields and in the stores. Indeed, as merchants, Hawaii's Chinese-Americans have become an important factor in the community, providing essential services and increasing the tax realization of Territorial, city, and county treasuries in considerable measure.

Hawaii's law-abiding residents of Chinese ancestry are represented in the personnel rather than the statistics of the Honolulu police department. On the force are many officers of Chinese descent who are university trained.

Chinese in Hawaii, with their training in democratic American public schools and their experience under the institutions of a free

society, have done much in the past to further the development of modern China. Dr. Sun Yat Sen himself, founder of the present-day Republic of China, was educated as a boy and young man in the schools of Hawaii, prior to 1911; so was his son, as stated by Mr. Farrington.

The birth rate of the Chinese in Hawaii has declined considerably during the years. I do not have statistics for earlier years, but I know that the immigrants of the last century had large families. Today the families consist of one, two, or three children. In 1930 the birth-rate of the Chinese in Hawaii was 26.4 per 1,000, as compared with 29.4 for the territorial population as a whole.

In 1940 the Chinese birth rate there was 17.9 in comparison with 22.2 for the entire population of the islands. These figures are supplied from records of the United States Bureau of the Census.

Hawaii furnishes the best example in the United States of the assimilability of the Chinese into the American way of life, because in Hawaii they constitute a large segment of all Chinese in the United States, and they have had an opportunity through three generations to take a definite part in all the opportunities and responsibilities of an American community. The results speak for themselves.

The Chinese in Hawaii hold a sense of dignity as descendants of a strong and ancient race, and they have the spirit of a young people who trace the independent national existence of their adopted country back through only six generations, to 1776.

I thank you.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Dr. Li, as an American citizen of Chinese ancestry, you would be opposed to any legislation that would admit to this country a large number of coolie laborers, would you not?

Dr. Li. I certainly would.

Mr. FARRINGTON. It is also a fact, is it not, that the present Secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, a position corresponding to that of the lieutenant governor in most States, who is appointed by the President of the United States, is the son of a Chinese father?

Dr. Li. Yes. Chinese father, Hawaiian mother. He is today our Secretary of Hawaii, comparable to the lieutenant governor in many of the States, and he was able to take over the responsibility of governor when our governor was here in Washington a few months ago. He is a young man in his early thirties, a respected attorney and a citizen of the Territory.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Is it not also true that recently one of the largest posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Hawaii elected as their commander, notwithstanding the fact that the best part of its membership is Caucasian, an American-Chinese citizen, who served 22 months overseas in the last war?

Dr. Li. That is true. He is a Chinese of the third generation, a graduate of the university, a splendid type Chinese-blooded American, and he was recently recognized by a post the majority of which membership consists of Caucasians from the mainland of America.

Many of them are, I would say, defense workers, and he was recognized and accepted as nothing else than an American.

I have never been conscious of the fact that I am Chinese at all in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Dr. Li, the American Legion has a membership in the Hawaiian Islands between 2,000 and 3,000 men?

Dr. LI. That is right.

Mr. FARRINGTON. A large number are in the Army posts?

Dr. LI. That is right.

Mr. FARRINGTON. And is that the number that elected you commander?

Dr. LI. That is true.

Mr. FARRINGTON. In your opinion, would the American Legion of Hawaii support the repeal of this act?

Dr. LI. I am very certain, and I am speaking for myself, being in Legion work in the Hawaiian Islands for the last quarter of a century, that the consensus of the men there would be for the repeal of these laws governing exclusion of Chinese from the United States.

Mr. FARRINGTON. And on the basis of your close association with the Chinese and with your close association with the general public and with the Pacific problem, do you not feel that the repeal of this act would greatly strengthen the hands of the leaders in China in their resistance to Japanese aggression, and particularly in their resistance to Japanese propaganda?

Dr. LI. I definitely believe that. I am proud to say that at this moment on General Stilwell's staff there is a Chinese from Hawaii who is his aide, trained in the only system that we know as free education. There is no question but that suspension or repeal of this act will help the Chinese people morally and spiritually at this moment; practically, from the military viewpoint, and to offset the vicious propaganda that has been growing like a cancer in the Orient from years back, as far as I can remember.

Mr. FARRINGTON. In conclusion, you are in Honolulu, your home, you were there at the time of the attack on December 7, 1941?

Dr. LI. I was there.

Mr. FARRINGTON. And participated, like practically all the Chinese-Americans, in whatever capacity they could, to meet a desperate situation?

Dr. LI. I am sure they were there 100 percent.

When a citation was made up by the Navy Department after December 7 of civilian workers at Pearl Harbor, 12 were given special citation, and 3 or 4 out of the 12 were of Chinese extraction.

That fact alone speaks for itself.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Dr. Li, the restrictions of employment at Pearl Harbor are very severe, but they do not apply to the Chinese-Americans.

Dr. LI. Absolutely not.

Mr. FARRINGTON. They hold many positions of responsibility in Pearl Harbor?

Dr. LI. That is right.

Mr. FARRINGTON. They are employed in many of the secret military installations throughout the islands?

Dr. LI. Yes, sir.

Mr. FARRINGTON. And the offices of the United States besides?

Dr. LI. That is right. They are employed in every secret project and they are held in great confidence, and I am proud to mention the brigadier general who was head of the United States Engineers prior to December, and after December 7, 1941, who is of Chinese extraction, and who graduated from West Point and who had two brothers who graduated from West Point, and many of you who are

familiar with football can recall the runs made by another Chinese who is an officer in the United States Navy.

I can mention names; they would not mean much—in the Air Corps and Artillery. We have men that were at Guadalcanal and are there today, fighting with other Americans, and we have men in Iceland and in Egypt.

So we are not conscious of the fact that we are Chinese. The only home we have is America. What else is there to fight for? And we feel that with training we can be useful, and we would like to see more Chinese come into this country, because of the fact our past records show we assimilate and can assimilate and become good respected citizens as individuals in a community participating in and contributing to the growth of America.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have made a fair statement.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I spent a great deal of time at Pearl Harbor after the attack. I have heard Admiral Gillette say many times if it had not been for his Chinese labor men, they would not have been able to clean up that mess.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Do you not agree with me there is no element that is more important than friendship with China?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Particularly in Hawaii.

Mr. FARRINGTON. And that we should do whatever we can to strengthen the fight we are making?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Is Mr. Lyman Hoover here?

Will you please step up?

STATEMENT OF LYMAN HOOVER, ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN CHINA

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

I have been serving in China since 1930 as a member of the staff of the international committee of the Y. M. C. A.

I was for 11 years National University secretary, and recently have been elected the associate general secretary of the Chinese Y. M. C. A. movement.

I returned from China just last month, arriving in Miami by plane on the 27th of April, and in connection with my work I have had the responsibility of traveling up and down, earlier through the occupied territory, and more recently through free China.

I have visited all of the great cities of free China within the past year and a half and have visited the Chinese armies at their posts at many points, and I know the struggle has been conducted with very poor equipment; that is, they have had all too little of military supplies and equipment for the armies, their great strength has been that they have had many men who were prepared to die for their country, and that it was a big land in which they could maneuver. But their big recourse has been that of courage and conviction that they were fighting for their own homes and that the world would eventually see the justness of their cause and support them.

I was in China near the front when the notice of Pearl Harbor came and I know what a boost it was to China when it appeared that America and Britain would become their allies.

Of course the hope was that there would be early and substantial help.

Due to the loss of Burma that has not materialized in a big way, but the friendship has been very important in keeping up Chinese courage and many times that has been the chief thing they have had to fight with.

Now that this question of the repeal of the exclusion has come up, it is of course attracting very great attention in China and it will be watched with an interest that hardly anything else will parallel.

Just at this time China is making a desperate effort to stop this Japanese drive and those of us who know about that are very much concerned, so there is hardly anything that would do so much for Chinese courage to give them a lift in this struggle as this concrete recognition of their equalities as one of our allies.

It should be given, and this discrimination against their people should be removed.

The other thing that I know, having recently come from contact with people from Burma, and having traveled through India and Africa on my way back, South America, and so on, talking with people of many nationalities, is that they see a brighter future for Asia under their leadership, and with that the enlisting of the Asiatic people's cooperation; that propaganda has been very widespread and it has been taken very seriously in many quarters.

I know many of the American officers who participated in the fighting in Burma and I know how they feel the failure to enlist the hearty cooperation of the Burman people was a great handicap.

So if this proposal to permit the Chinese to come in on the same basis as other nationalities, which would permit 107 Chinese to come in a year, if that were turned down it would become in Japanese hands the greatest kind of propaganda material.

And so, having just come from China, I very earnestly beg you, sir, and members of the committee, to give this your most favorable consideration, because I think it is a way of helping a desperate war situation which is very hard to help in other ways just at this time.

Of course, our pressure on Japan, too, in other parts tends to draw Japanese strength away, and the help that America has given in relief work, revoking the unequal treaties, and so on; that has all inspired the Chinese greatly, and if you follow that up now with giving them status on the immigration basis, it would be a very, very great thing to do in terms of United States strategy and strengthening their will to exist. Because that is all they have to fight with now, just courage and willingness to take further punishment until we can get more war materials to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Thank you very much. I think you have made a pretty strong presentation.

Now, is Mr. Underwood here?

STATEMENT OF J. J. UNDERWOOD, SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MR. UNDERWOOD. My name is J. J. Underwood, and I represent the Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

I have here a telegram which I would like to place in the record, and to supplement it, if I may, later, and, if I may, I will render just a brief statement.

I realize the committee is busy and wants to get through.

This telegram is dated Seattle, Wash., May 26th:

Board of trustees today endorsed Magnuson bill 2309 permitting Chinese in United States on quota basis. Further recommended Washington congressional delegation be urged to see that practical and substantial assistance be extended China immediately.

In support of this legislation, Mr. Chairman, I will say we have had some discussion on it over the long distance telephone, and that primarily, the chamber members are interested in commerce. They realize that unless we win this war there is not going to be any commerce.

I have been in China many, many times, and in Japan, both, and I know of my own knowledge—I was in Shanghai when they bombed it off the map, and in China at that time, and prior to that—they were then talking about the all-China movement, and using this Exclusion Act to win the Chinese away from the United States.

Now Chinese commerce has played a very important part in the development of the United States; in fact, Columbus was looking for China when he discovered the United States, and died believing he had found it.

Commerce began in China and extended up to Genoa and Venice and up the Mediterranean into Spain and then skipped into England and then across here, and it is now on its second lap around the world, so to speak.

Commerce is founded on raw materials and people, supplemented, of course, by the fact that we are now moving very rapidly into the electrical age.

And in our part of the country—that is, the Northwest area—we are developing the greatest light-metals industry that there will be in the world.

Now, we have a number of ships in normal times running from Seattle to the Orient. We have 26 ships owned by Seattle people that ply to the Far East. They are not doing that now because of war conditions.

We who have been in China believe that China has developed a national spirit—in other words, become a cohesive nation.

They have also discovered the value of time in China. I heard a gentleman talking about railroads here this morning, if I may interrupt myself—China has a little less than 3,000 miles of railroad as against 325,000 in the United States, counting switches and side tracks, and so forth.

Now, by the development of China we believe that they could increase the earning capacity of the Chinese at the rate of 80 cents a

month, which for 500,000,000 people would be 5 billion per year. Our total foreign trade is in normal times around 3½ billion dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Three and one-third.

The CHAIRMAN. Billions?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Billions; that is, in normal times. Now, we are not foolish enough to think that we are going to get all of that 5 billions of trade. The British are pretty smart, too.

But this particular law has always been a source of irritation, and—

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt you at this point?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the British Empire or the British Government have an exclusion law like we have?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I do not believe so, but they have other tricks.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. They have other tricks, if I may explain just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Following the Boxer uprising and prior to that time, we were without "face," as they say, in China.

Business is based on face, which means good standing and prestige. We were without face, and so we wisely remitted payment of the Boxer indemnity and spent the money in educating the Chinese in the United States. These Chinese subsequently went back to China, and having learned the use of American materials, they purchased American materials, and while we remitted that Boxer indemnities money, we got it back many times in trade.

Usually business is done in China by taking the Chinese in with you, the Chinese having usually 40 percent.

If an income tax was \$1,000,000, 40 percent would belong to the Chinese; so we passed the China Trade Act which provided, roughly, that the dividends became taxable only when they were paid in this country; that is what it meant. It might be reexpended abroad.

Now, the reason we did that is this—these British are really not dumb; they just appear to be.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean they are playing dumb?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. No, I do not think so; they are smart.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let it go at that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. They just appear dumb.

You see, when we passed that income tax law, the Chinese then would go in with the French and the British; they would not go in with us because the 40 percent of income tax they contributed was going into the Government in the United States.

The British then passed an order in Council, which has all the effect of a law—providing first, that the auditor had to be a British subject. That did not work very good, so they passed another one, that the president, vice president, secretary, general manager, and a majority of the directors had to be British subjects; so that threw us again right into the hands of our British competitors.

So we countered that by passing the China Trade Act so they could incorporate under the laws of the United States.

Now, we are not foolish enough to suppose we are not going to have any competition to get this \$5,000,000,000 of trade, but the essential

thing we are interested in is removing this irritation so that we will have more "face" in China.

I know of one case. I think Mr. Magnuson will remember it. One Chinese came over with half a million dollars.

He was thrown into the immigration station like a common felon and kept there 21 days before we could get him out.

Of course we lost all his business.

I have a letter here [reading]:

I met a very distinguished Chinese, Dr. Lin Boon, down at Singapore once. We were on the boat together and he told me that he had never been to our country and never wanted to go. I asked him why, and he said that the insult offered China when they were put under the Exclusion Act made him feel very badly.

Well, I know a hundred instances of that kind.

I do not think I have anything further.

Mr. BENNETT. I just want to make the point that chambers of commerce generally in the United States were not very much interested while we were selling the stuff to Japan prior to Pearl Harbor.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Perhaps that is true, and perhaps it is not, and I do not know how many members of our businessmen were members of chambers of commerce, but I do know this, that China developed the clipper trade with the United States when we were having trouble with the British and passed the Tonnage Act. We had codfish-shaped ships before we developed the clipper.

I know this, too, that much of the commerce of China—I am speaking from personal experience and observation; I have been there many times—is based on this fact. I was up in Pekin one time and talked to a Mr. Tsai, who was minister of communications, and I said to him, "I notice you have American rolling stock on your railroad." It was a German-built road.

He said, "Why, I received my education in New York, and I am a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce."

I cannot say whether it is generally true or not, but I do know that the future commerce of the world rests on the Pacific. The European countries are broke. They are decadent.

In the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean are two-thirds of the raw material of the world, and three-fourths of the people who tread the earth, and commerce is founded on raw material and people.

The reason we are interested in this so vitally is, first, because we fear that this all-Asia propaganda might be successful, and that China will desert us. We have deserted China right now, I think, but we are not running the war, nor are we trying to. But if China deserts us and if they Japonize the Chinese, you gentlemen are going to think that the gates of hell have been left ajar. If they ever succeed in Japonizing the Chinese and the Hindus, the white race is through.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I hope not.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I hope not, too.

May I submit for the record these telegrams and this letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they may be included.

(The telegrams and letter are as follows:)

MAY 17, 1943.

J. J. UNDERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

I think the goodwill value would be far greater than any damage quota system would do us.

J. T. HARDEMAN HAT CO.

SEATTLE, WASH., May 26, 1943.

J. J. UNDERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

Board of trustees today endorsed Magnuson Bill two three naught nine permitting Chinese in United States on quota basis. Further recommended Washington congressional delegation be urged to see that practical and substantial assistance be extended China immediately.

FOSTER L. MCGOVERN.

J. T. HARDEMAN HAT Co.,
SEATTLE, WASH., May 18, 1943.Mr. J. J. UNDERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JACK: Thank you very much for your letter of May 13.

I have read your letter to Terry and I have sent you the enclosed telegram. I remember very well when the Japanese were put under the quota system. They seemed to feel very good, but when they were put under the Exclusion Act they rebelled to beat the band and felt very badly.

I also met a very distinguished Chinese, Dr. Lim Boon down at Singapore once. We were on the boat together and he told me that he "had never been to our country and never wanted to go." I asked him why and he said that the insult offered China when they were put under the Exclusion Act made him feel very badly.

There certainly is not any reason for injuring the feelings of the Orientals even if our country was being overrun by the laboring people of other nations, making it necessary to restrict the immigration.

Wishing you the very best of luck and a lot of it, I am

Yours truly,

J. T. HARDEMAN HAT Co.
JOE T. HARDEMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Miss Weston here?

The Young Women's Christian Association, Miss Anna Weston?

All right. Mr. Thatcher?

Mr. THATCHER. Yes.

STATEMENT OF MAURICE H. THATCHER, REPRESENTING THE SOCIETY OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDENTS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AND THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The CHAIRMAN. You want to present a statement, I understand.

Mr. THATCHER. Yes, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. THATCHER. My name is Maurice H. Thatcher.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I served in the House as the chairman knows, for 10 years, 1923 to 1933, and I was an earnest supporter of the legislation enacted during that period concerning questions of immigration.

I am here today to present, for whatever it may be considered to be worth, resolutions adopted by the National Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution held in New York City on the 19th of May 1943; also to present resolutions recently adopted in behalf of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District of Columbia, of which I have the honor to be governor.

I was a delegate to the Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution in New York, and I am serving on the immigration committee of that organization.

Both, as you know, are patriotic organizations, and with your permission I will read the resolution adopted by the Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution:

Whereas, there are now pending before the Congress of the United States numerous bills having for their purpose the modification or repeal of existing laws dealing with the subjects of immigration and naturalization; Be It

Resolved by the Congress of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, That, in the judgment of the society, any material modification or repeal of our basic laws dealing with the subjects of immigration and naturalization, may result in great and irreparable injury to the United States, and to the Nation's future destiny; and that, to say the least, any proposals for such modification or repeal may well await, for consideration, the final outcome of the fearful global struggle in which we are now engaged.

The resolution adopted by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District was of similar tenor:

Whereas before the Congress of the United States there are pending a number of measures designed to modify or repeal our immigration and naturalization laws; and

Whereas it is believed that any substantial departure from the established policy of the Nation, as embodied in these laws, will prove prejudicial to our national best interests: Be it therefore

Resolved by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District of Columbia, acting by and through its governing body, the board of assistants, on this 1st day of May 1943, in Washington, D. C., as follows: First, That in the earnest belief and opinion of the society, the modification or repeal of our fundamental laws touching immigration and naturalization may now, and in the years to come, bring grave hurt to our country and our people; and that it would be wise and just to delay final consideration of any proposals dealing with the indicated subjects until World War II shall have been fought to a successful conclusion, and a post-war view of the whole picture obtained.

Second, That the governor of the society and the society's committee on legislation be, and they are, hereby authorized to appear before any committee of Congress, or before any administrative officials or bureaus of our Government, and to take any other steps which to them may seem appropriate, for the purpose of presenting the views of the society as set forth herein.

I would like to file these resolutions, Mr. Chairman, as part of my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Without objection, they will be received.

(The two resolutions offered are on file with the committee and were printed as part of the testimony of Mr. Thatcher.)

Mr. THATCHER. I might just add this, speaking for myself as a former Member of the House, of course, I have every sympathy with the Chinese people, and we cherish those who are among us as American citizens.

There is no question about their loyalty, their integrity, or their capacity.

I do believe, however, that on any question that involves a basic departure in our immigration policy, it would be well to await the outcome of the World War; and on this question of Chinese immigration, I think that it should be worked out first through diplomatic efforts; and then, perhaps, legislation could be adopted that would be mutually

agreeable to the countries, and China and the other countries that are now under the oppressive heel of oppression would be perfectly free to deal with the subjects involved.

So, speaking for myself, I believe we ought to defer questions of this sort until the close of the war, or else repeal all quotas until the soldiers come back, and then get a new picture and then write our laws on the basis of justice for all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thatcher, you supported the quota law?

Mr. THATCHER. Yes, I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And prior to that there was no quota law at all?

Mr. THATCHER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There were, on the average 1,200,000 people coming into this country as long as they had a dime in their pockets and could get here—I mean were physically fit—and there were no complaints about that.

Then we fixed a quota law and do you remember, we discussed that for months, pro and con, and we took the census of 1890, and the purpose of the Congress then was to allow the so-called Nordic races in preference to other races of the world.

I remember when you were here.

Mr. THATCHER. Yes; I know.

The CHAIRMAN. And you supported that program. As a matter of fact, I was opposed to that program. If you remember, I stated and pointed out that you were discriminating against the other fine races of people, and for the benefit of Germany and England, and Italy, and you were freezing out the rest of the world; but you had the votes then and you passed it, and that has been our basic law since

That is correct, is it not?

Mr. THATCHER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And now you want to destroy that basic law that has been established by both major parties and has been in effect all these years by removing the quotas?

Mr. THATCHER. No; I did not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want to remove the quotas, then?

Mr. THATCHER. I say this, that rather than see any modification of basic provisions of these laws, I would rather see a suspension of the quotas during the time of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Thatcher, do you know that in the past we have had a lot of smuggling into this country?

Mr. THATCHER. Of course, I know it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that?

Mr. THATCHER. Of course I know it.

The CHAIRMAN. And if we passed a law that would give people an opportunity, 100 or 10, it would not make any difference, but the principle would be there; we could reduce a lot of that smuggling, could we not?

We have argued that; we have all argued that question.

If you close the door tight shut, there are apt to be some burglaries.

Now, do you honestly believe—I know that you are fair-minded, and in spite of the fact that you represent these organizations which are of the minor minorities——

Mr. THATCHER. They only speak for themselves, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. There were representatives here that spoke for millions of people in support of these bills.

Now, if you honestly believe that this would help China and would help our war efforts, would you not feel that——

Mr. THATCHER. Of course, we want to help China, but we are now giving our best blood and our best treasure to help China; and we shall give much more of both. There can be no question of our desire to help, but we must bear in mind that, as to aliens, the harbor gates of this country swing inward; they do not swing outward; and this is true of no other great nation in the world. Hence, these gates must be zealously guarded. As to Chinese immigration, my understanding of the law is that Chinese persons and other orientals who are under jurisdiction of the British Empire, may come into the United States under the British quotas, if the pending bills are enacted. As the present British annual quota is more than 62,000, and on an average of something like 2,360 have been coming in each year during the past decade, it is altogether probable—if I am correct in my interpretation of the statutes—that the slack in the British quota would be in large measure taken up by orientals living under British jurisdiction who are not now eligible to come into this country to become residents and citizens, if the pending bills become law. Hence, much more than a quota of 107 Chinese entries may be involved. In dealing with this type of legislation a long time is required.

Now, concerning quotas, it may not be ideal, but we have to adopt some form, and I would prefer, myself, to see a suspension of all quotas till the war ends rather than resort to legislating away the basic laws that are now in force.

Mr. THATCHER. I think when the World War ends, and our millions of soldiers come home, and we get a new picture of the whole world, we will be in a better position to legislate on the questions of immigration and naturalization than we are now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not also agree with me that even under the present quota system we can exclude——

Mr. THATCHER. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. We can exclude people even under the present quota law if they cannot comply with our requirements as to moral, educational, or financial standards.

Mr. THATCHER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We can exclude almost all the world, if we want to do it.

Mr. THATCHER. We can exclude a good portion, if the law is properly enforced.

The CHAIRMAN. So changing it to put China on a quota would not change it much, if we only let 107 come in.

Thank you very much, sir.

We will adjourn until June 2.

(Whereupon, the committee adjourned to reconvene Wednesday, June 2, 1943.)

REPEAL OF THE CHINA EXCLUSION ACTS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

We would like to adjourn here at quarter to 12, and we are going to be in session tomorrow until about 12.

Is Congressman Rogers here?

Mr. Ogburn? Is Mr. Ogburn here?

STATEMENT OF CHARLTON OGBURN, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. MASON. All right, Mr. Ogburn.

Mr. OGBURN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I assume in making this brief statement that the majority of the committee are already disposed to favor these bills.

You have heard arguments pro and con, and sufficiently, I imagine, to have been able to make up your minds.

I should like to address a few remarks to the form of the report which the committee will make on these bills, if I may do so.

I feel that I have some knowledge of the minds of the working classes of this country, and it is to be expected that there will be some opposition to this bill from the workers themselves.

I feel that if the committee addresses its report, in part, to those workers, showing how their enlightened self-interest would cause them to favor these bills, that the chances of the bills being enacted by Congress will be all the greater.

There are much larger implications than merely the domestic fallacies in this legislation.

I have occasion to know that the Chinese, the Chinese officials and the Chinese people, feel very deeply on the question of the implications involved in this Exclusion Act.

I also believe that the interests of world peace in the future and the interests of the United States depend on harmonious relations between our country and the Chinese Republic.

I have had the honor of meeting a few Chinese, some Chinese of importance officially, and I know how deeply they feel about this measure.

I think they really go beyond the implications in it, but nevertheless, our relations with the Chinese Republic would certainly be vastly improved in the future if this law did not remain on our statute books.

If I may speak with regard to personal acquaintanceship with the Chinese for just a moment, I would like to show you what my point is.

I have had very slight acquaintance with the Chinese, that is only a very few. In my youth, when I was about 16, I went to school in a town in Georgia where there were three Chinese girls, with lovely names. One was named Chingling, one was named Ayling, and one was named Mayling.

One married Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese Republic; one married Dr. H. H. Kung; and one married Chiang Kai-shek.

More recently I made the acquaintance of a young Chinese woman, who I believe was a witness before your committee, whose name is Miss Yen.

Miss Yen spoke in Washington the middle of March. I had the honor of introducing her to the audience, and I learned that she, herself, had been a delegate from the Chinese Republic to the League of Nations. Her father is a cabinet minister, Minister of National Health; her uncle was the Ambassador from the Chinese Republic to Russia, and was the delegate from the Chinese Republic who handled the Manchurian Affair before the League of Nations.

Miss Yen had spent 4 years at American schools, 2 years at Smith College. Her father was a graduate of Yale. Her uncle was a graduate of the University of Virginia.

Her grandfather came to the United States and finished his education in 1861, and while he was here the Civil War took place. He fought to preserve the Union. He then returned to China.

When Miss Yen arrived in Washington—I just want to make this one point and then I will finish—she stopped at the station to get her shoes shined. The bootblack was a Syrian who could not speak English, and she was impressed by the fact that he was admissible to citizenship and she was not admissible.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have covered that very thoroughly.

If I am correct, you have been counsel for the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. OGBURN. Yes; during the years 1933 through 1938, and I represented several of the international unions also, and I have some knowledge, as I said at the beginning, of the minds of the workers.

Mr. MASON. It is along that line that this committee would be glad to get your ideas.

Mr. OGBURN. Well, as I said, my idea is that if the workers and if the labor union officials understand first of all the international implications and the improvement in our international relations, especially with the great Chinese Republic, and the fact that they need not fear what they have heretofore—the competition of cheap Chinese labor, if this bill be enacted, I believe their sense of justice, and I think that the workers have a sense of justice and fairness that is equal to that of any group in the United States—they will favor these bills.

Mr. MASON. The C. I. O. had a representative here favoring the bills, and the A. F. L. had a representative here opposing the bills.

Mr. OGBURN. Well, I believe the members of the A. F. L. have probably not studied it sufficiently.

Mr. MASON. They took the historical attitude.

Mr. OGBURN. Yes. Of course, one of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor is to bring up the wages of the lower-paid.

I think they should understand that only a comparatively few Chinese would be admitted.

Mr. MASON. I do not think they understand that.

Mr. OGBURN. And while I am here, Mr. Chairman, if your report covers those points—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will keep that in mind—

Mr. OGBURN. That is the point I wanted to stress.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Is Mr. LeFevre here?

STATEMENT OF P. F. LE FEVRE, REPRESENTING THE CALIFORNIA TEXAS OIL CO.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LE FEVRE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name and address and who you represent, please.

Mr. LE FEVRE. P. F. Le Fevre, representing the California Texas Oil Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LE FEVRE. Mr. Chairman, and members, as I have had no experience in testifying before congressional or other committees, I should like to submit a prepared statement first, and later answer, or attempt to answer, any questions the members of the committee may wish to ask.

My present position: Washington representative of the California Texas Oil Co., which is jointly owned by the Texas Co. and the Standard Oil Co. of California.

I was formerly managing director of the Texas Co. (China), Ltd., which is the China marketing subsidiary of the above company.

I lived in China from May 1921 to September 1941, a period of 20 years' continuous residence in China, with the exception of home leave every 4 years.

During this entire period, I was employed in the oil business in China, being stationed in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Canton, Hankow, and Tientsin, and in the course of business traveled over the greatest part of China.

I feel that the present law which excludes Chinese from entering into the United States for immigration purposes is a needless handicap to friendly political and business relations between the United States and China.

During my residence in China, in business dealings and personal contacts with very many Chinese business men, I found them very favorable to Americans and American business, with the single exception that a feeling of resentment at the discrimination of the Chinese Exclusion Act was often expressed or implied. This feeling has even resulted at various time in the past in local anti-American boycotts in China, although in recent years anti-Japanese feeling became so strong that boycotts were exclusively anti-Japanese. The boycott is a favorite and powerful weapon of the Chinese in dealing with international situations which they regard as unfair or discriminatory against them. I do not mean to imply that I believe it likely that if we do not repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act, American business will be boycotted.

I mention previous local anti-American boycotts only to illustrate the strength of the feeling among the Chinese people against the Exclusion Act.

Right now the Chinese immigration exclusion issue is blocking the negotiation of a commercial treaty between the United States and China.

Following the abolition of extraterritoriality, such a treaty is badly needed to clear up the present ambiguous situation of American business in China as regards land ownership, navigation rights, and other matters left unsettled since extraterritoriality ceased.

As a businessman directly interested in trade with China, I consider that the existing legislation regarding Chinese immigration is the most important obstacle to the development of large and mutually profitable trade relations between the United States and China after the war.

China has, of course, an enormous population, and the industrialization of the country was just beginning at the time the Japanese attacked China in 1937.

After all of China is restored to peace and freedom, I believe that the industrialization of this country will proceed rapidly and it may, in the not too distant future, become one of the largest markets in the world for American products. This development would inevitably result in large benefits to American labor and capital engaged in manufacturing and distributing goods to the Chinese market.

It is my understanding that only 107 Chinese would be admitted annually to the United States under the proposed change in the law. Granting their lower standards of living and wage levels, the actual result of the admission of such a small number annually could have no effect whatever on our own economy.

It may be said that a question involving such a small number of prospective immigrants should be of little consequence to the Chinese, as well as to us. To the Chinese, however, the present discrimination practiced against them is a serious loss of face, which would be ended by permitting them to immigrate into this country on the same terms as the citizens of other nations.

Whether or not the practical effect of the change would be negligible is not involved in the question of face. "Face" is a literal translation from the Chinese, hard to define to any one who has not lived in the Orient.

From a business point of view, I would say that "face" means mutual consideration and respect.

Chinese business men are shrewd and hard traders, but if you conduct a business negotiation in China in such a manner that the Chinese merchant feels he is losing face, he will give the business to your competitor at higher prices and less advantageous terms.

Most important of all is the obvious fact that China, our ally in the war, bore the brunt of the Japanese war machine alone for over 4 years, and, owing to the exigencies of the strategical plan and the difficulties of communication and supply, we have been able to render very little assistance to the Chinese Government and people since the Japanese, in our turn, attacked us.

In actual fact, the Chinese position is much worse off since we entered the war than before Pearl Harbor. I consider we should show

our appreciation of this situation by removing the present discrimination against Chinese immigration. The repeal of the present law would be helpful in building important trade relations between our two countries after the war and at present would be a mark of appreciation and encouragement to a gallant ally.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Thank you very much.

Congressman Rogers, did you want to make a statement?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir; a very brief one.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILL ROGERS, JR., MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appreciate your allowing me to make this brief statement.

I understand that you are here considering the lifting of the Chinese Exclusion Act. I feel so strongly about the opportunity to take a forward step in our international relations by removing this exclusion that I cannot help but express my feeling to you.

I came to Congress because of my intense belief that this time we must bend every effort to make this the last war. We must fight to make it the last war. Whether we win this war is a military test. Whether we make it the last war is a bitter mental test.

The challenge of this mental test places a third World War right now into the balance, and that balance can be tipped either way by a few hundred men in Washington who hold the active direction of our democracy, and among whom I count the members of this committee.

Successive world wars can be avoided only if world cooperation, now springing up, is brightly encouraged. The great allies of this war, China, England, Russia, America, can, if we bend every effort, become great allies in peace. Together we can create a world in order.

But between these allies, old irritants and frictions exist, and must be removed and smoothed away, and, as a basis for lasting peace, certainly merit our wholehearted attempts to do so.

As regards China, we have two major frictions. The first is the principle of extraterritoriality, which we have canceled; and the second, Chinese exclusion on the basis of racial inferiority, which I hope we will soon cancel.

As I come from the Pacific coast, I feel very strongly about this. It is my understanding that the lifting of the Chinese embargo would allow approximately 100 Chinese to come into this country annually.

Considering all that China has done for us in the past, and considering the cooperation we hope to get from her in the future, I think we should take advantage of the set-up of our immigration quotas and remove this potential cause of ill feeling right now.

After this war, we on the Pacific coast are looking forward to an increase in oriental trade. We are looking forward to an industry—to a great, strong, unified and free China, for selfish reasons. Such a China, because of the great wealth of its potential market, would mean that in time our Pacific trade could rival our old Atlantic trade. Los Angeles Harbor could become a second New York. And such a China would be the greatest guarantee of peace in the Pacific. It would be our guarantee that Japan would be forever kept in a militarily subordinate position.

I realize that mechanical difficulties and complexities lie in the way of lifting this Chinese Exclusion Act. I have discussed its technical aspects with many people. It may be that the best solution would involve a rewriting of several of our immigration laws; that it would require a sort of unification and codification of our immigration policy which we have built up rather piecemeal and by patchwork over a period of years. However, in my opinion, the lifting of the Chinese Exclusion Act is so important that every effort should be made to draft and to pass this essential legislation.

I hope this committee will not be deterred from action just because the lifting of the Chinese exclusion may involve the changing of a lot of other of our immigration laws. China needs our help and our good will now. If we are to seriously tackle the involved problems of international cooperation, if we seriously mean to make an attempt to get a lasting peace this time, then I feel a most significant beginning could be made by this committee if, out of your deliberations, evolves some sort of a bill by which we will be able to say to China, "See; here we have lifted exclusion to the Chinese on a basis of race, as our contribution to a better understanding."

Earlier in the session you recall that Mme. Chang Kai-shek spoke before the House of Representatives. Listening to this well-poised, highly educated world leader, an exquisite woman of great charm and wide intelligence, I want you to know that many of us sitting in the House felt embarrassed to remember that by the laws of this country, this woman was legally not good enough to apply for citizenship in the United States, if she had wanted to; but we exclude her purely on the basis of race. And I feel that that bitter and ironic discrimination should be lifted, and I hope that you gentlemen will bend every effort to lift it since it is fully possible to do so and still retain the structure of our present immigration system in the United States.

I feel it is the significant type of legislation that this Congress should tackle at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Rogers, I believe that you have indicated in your statement that you realize that the thing goes further than simply letting in a few Chinese.

Mr. ROGERS. Unfortunately, it does.

Mr. ALLEN. Unfortunately there are those who seem to feel that it simply means letting in 107 Chinese and that it ought to be a very simple matter. If the problem stopped there, it would not be as difficult as it is, but for 61 years we have had a barrier against not only the Chinese but against all orientals.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. And the problem that this committee has to face, and the Congress has to face, is the fact that if you break down that barrier at all at one place it is going to be almost humanly impossible to keep from breaking it all along.

In other words, you have 400,000,000 Hindus. You have the Koreans. You have those of Malaya, and you have other Asiatics, and they are going to want to have the same rights.

That all enters into the problem.

We feel very kindly towards China, but it is a tremendous problem that we have to face, and you understand that we have certain laws that discriminate against the Chinese by name.

In other words, those are the Chinese-exclusion laws proper.

Now, we have other laws, the law of 1924, and the law of 1940, that set out orientals generally, without naming anybody by name.

I have indicated to the committee already that I was willing to go along and erase or repeal the laws which named the Chinese and put the finger upon them.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. Now, the next step, the step of wiping out all oriental exclusion and providing for quotas is a tremendous step, and that is the step that I have been hesitating to take, and I think other members of the committee feel the same way about it.

Mr. ROGERS. And quite justified. I understand. I do not envy you your task. I understand that in opening up this Chinese question you open up the whole question of all orientals in the Pacific and that is why I am afraid that it may involve quite a drastic change, and I do not know myself—it will be a question of nice judgment how far you should go.

I feel, however, that there must be people of sufficient skill and technical background and this committee is a committee of sufficient judgment that a forward step can be made; that is all. So that we may have good relations with China.

I could not tell you exactly how. I have discussed it. I understand there is a question of Hong Kong, many people there. I understand there are a lot of other questions, some of which it is not good, too good to talk about, some of which are rather involved questions.

All I hope is that you will bring the best bill that you possibly can under the circumstances, which will give the most cooperation that you feel we can give to China.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

A quota could be fixed, just a quota of 106 or 107, under the 1890 census, which would include all Chinese—no matter where they live.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And we could safeguard that quota to be not more than 107 by drawing a bill stating that all Chinese no matter where they were born would have to come within this quota.

Mr. ROGERS. Well, that is my hope, that that is what the committee will do.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be Mr. Mansfield Freeman.

STATEMENT OF MANSFIELD FREEMAN, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES LIFE INSURANCE CO.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, this is a new experience for me. I did not seek this opportunity to testify before your committee because I think that anyone should be greatly concerned about the scant hundred Chinese who might be admitted to this country under some sort of a quota system.

If they are admitted they surely would have no appreciable effect on either our American institutions or our economic life.

What does concern me is the practical consequences to this country if we continue this law which has discriminatory principles inherent in it.

This, to me, is the real issue and the important one to be considered.

I went to China in 1919 first as a professor in Chin Wa College, an American Boxer indemnity college in Peking; later I engaged in business in China and returned to this country in 1941.

During 20 years of residence in that country I had an opportunity to meet many classes of the Chinese; the bankers, the businessmen, the intellectual class.

I spent a good deal of time out in the country—in the interior.

I engaged in famine-relief work one year, and got acquainted with the peasants in the villages.

There is no question but what the Chinese feel very deeply about our exclusion laws. There is no question but that many intelligent and extremely sensitive individuals have been embarrassed and have been insulted by the operation of these laws.

Generally, the Chinese admire and like America and Americans, but they cannot quite have complete confidence in our expressions of friendship for them when we exclude them from our country as inferiors and undesirables.

Now, while we are engaged in this war, it is of paramount importance to us that we win and hold the confidence of the Chinese people.

We need China. We need China very badly, as a loyal ally in our war against Japan.

But I do not think that we can take the continued support of China for granted. We all know that China has been suffering; that her economic situation is deteriorating; that her Army, after 6 years of war, is hard-pressed.

We also know that our promised aid has been arriving fairly slowly.

We know, too, that our enemies are making every effort to win the Chinese away from us, to discredit us in their eyes.

I know that there are elements in China itself which have grown discouraged, and which might be willing to negotiate with Japan.

We know also that the discrimination inherent in these exclusion laws is one of the best bits of propaganda that our enemies have. It is good propaganda, because it has an element of truth in it.

Now, it seems to me very foolish that we should put this powerful weapon in the hands of our enemies to use against us and to undermine the morale of our Chinese friends. And for that reason I am convinced these exclusion laws should be repealed.

I also advocate their repeal as a necessary step in preparing for the post-war world. The smallness of our world, the interdependence of the nations in it, and America's need for good international friendships are lessons that we have been learning since Pearl Harbor.

Trade with China and cooperation with her 400,000,000 people are going to be very important factors in America's post-war prosperity.

There is no nation which has such potential opportunities in the Far East for the United States. Why should we limit those opportunities by keeping on our statute books legislation which no longer is serving any very useful purpose, and yet which simply tends to irritate and insult those who might be our best friends?

Mr. ALLEN. Will you let me interrupt you right there?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, Mr. Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. I would like to ask you what you mean by limiting the opportunities which we have here with reference to orientals?

Do you mean that we should let the Chinese come over here and settle and form communities?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, no. I was thinking of our opportunities in China, not their opportunities in this country.

Mr. ALLEN. Go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FREEMAN. To expand that little, if China is victorious in her present struggle, and she is fighting not only to resist an invader but to win respect as a major world power—now, if she wins out in this war she is going to demand a position of equality and respect throughout the world.

If we do not give her that respect, I think it would be very likely that we might have reprisals against individuals and American business in the Far East.

The Chinese feel so deeply about this thing that they certainly are not going to take it lying down indefinitely, and it would be such a gracious gesture if now we would voluntarily repeal these laws which are of no particular safeguard or value to us at the present time.

America has always been considered the traditional friend of the Chinese.

We recently abolished the extraterritorial treaties. Here is one remaining example of our unequal treatment of the Chinese and I am firmly persuaded that this law ought to be repealed, especially when it would cost us very little, and yet the benefits will be so substantial, both now during the war period, and in the years to come.

Mr. ALLEN. What do you say with reference to the other Orientals, the 400,000,000 Hindus, the Koreans, those of Malaya, and other places?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think, Mr. Allen, that is a rather difficult question for me.

Mr. ALLEN. It is difficult; it is difficult for us, too.

Mr. FREEMAN. It is a problem that I would not like to make a dogmatic statement on.

I would hate to be on your committee and have to consider these difficult problems that are connected with this. But I do feel that some formula could be arrived at where this irritation to the Chinese could be removed without any danger to our economic life.

But it is not easy for you to find that formula, I will admit that.

Mr. ALLEN. As you probably heard me point out a while ago, we have certain laws that stigmatize the Chinese by naming them specifically as a race. And we have certain other laws that exclude orientals as a whole without naming anybody.

Now, do you not think that it would go a long way to help the situation if the Congress should repeal all Chinese exclusion laws proper?

In other words, those laws which discriminate against the Chinese alone. And that would place China on the basis, from a legislative standpoint, of all other orientals.

Of course, from a practical standpoint right now, she is on the basis of all orientals but she has complained because certain laws name the Chinese specifically.

Now, if we should repeal those laws, or parts of laws which named the Chinese, and point the finger at them, in a way, do you not think that that would help the situation considerably?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think this would certainly be a step in the right direction.

Mr. ALLEN. Leaving the oriental question, as a whole, open for future consideration? In other words, as you heard pointed out a minute ago, when Congressman Robers was on the stand and he agreed that the oriental question is a tremendous question, it is a big question. It is a question that this Congress ought not to jump into hurriedly. It ought to have most mature deliberation and consideration before we undertake to undo something that has been in existence for 61 years.

Mr. FREEMAN. I think that the tremendous lift that you would give to the Chinese, that the response we would get from them as our allies upon whom we are depending in the present war, would make it worth-while for this Committee to seek for some kind of a formula that would go a little further than simply wiping out the cause—the laws which mention the Chinese in particular, and put them on some kind of a quota.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, do you feel that we should place other orientals on the same basis that we do the Chinese?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is a question, sir, which I could not answer.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, you have had experience among orientals, 20 years' experience, and you are coming here as sort of an expert witness on this, and we are glad to have the benefit of your view, but I feel that we ought to have the benefit of your views on the oriental question, as a whole.

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, I feel as though I should take refuge in Confucius, who said "To know what you know and know what you do not know, that is knowledge."

And there are limits to my knowledge. I do feel that the question of Malays and Annamese and Indians and Hindus, and so forth, is a very serious problem and that you will have to deal with it with a great deal of caution, but I do feel that we could find a formula which would make the Chinese feel that we were not discriminating against them, that we were accepting them completely as our equal partners in the war, which we are now fighting, and as equal partners in helping to build the peace after the war.

Mr. ALLEN. We have had bills here to grant citizenship to Hindus. They have come in here in droves and begged us to give approval to those bills.

We have had bills to make very fine Koreans, living in this country, to make them citizens; and perhaps other races and nationalities over there; and we have consistently said, "No; we are sorry; we just cannot do that because you are an Asiatic."

Now, this is the difficulty that the committee is in when you break that wall, when you blast the wall at one place, there is no reasonable man that would argue that you could hold back the tide. You just could not do it.

For 61 years we have held the wall up. Now you are asking us to blast that wall for the Chinese.

Some of the witnesses were frank enough to say that the wall ought to be blasted for the Hindus and the Koreans and all of the others. You do not go that far, but the problem is there.

Mr. FREEMAN. Of course, I do not know the problem of the Hindus, the Indians, what the quota question would be. I have not studied it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Freeman, to sum up your testimony—and I think you have given a pretty clear picture—China is our ally. This bill deals with China and we are not a bit concerned with any other racial groups at this time. We are basing it both on an economic question and on a war question.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you believe, honestly believe, from your 20 years' experience in China and from your knowledge of the Chinese people, that by removing this stigma and putting them on a quota basis, we would bring about a closer friendship and understanding between America and China—not only during the war but also in the post-war period when we may have to—when our soldiers may still have to be there.

Is that your position?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Any other questions?

Mr. REES. I understand certain groups representing labor are somewhat disturbed because of the competition of Chinese labor. Do you have an answer to that? I thought if you wanted to express your view, I would be glad to have it.

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, the number of Chinese that would come in under the quota system would be very small.

That is the answer. The probability of Chinese laborers coming into the States I think is relatively remote, because China after this war has a tremendous problem in her own country.

Now, immigration is largely an economic problem, people seeking better opportunities. They are going to have those opportunities in China.

A third practical consideration would be this, that actually you are getting a great many Chinese coming into this country now who slip across the border without proper documents. I do not suppose that the Chinese Government is concerning itself very much with these individuals.

If you had your arrangements with the Chinese Government and you had a treaty with them, I am inclined to think that the Chinese Government would cooperate with you. The result would be that you would get fewer Chinese laborers coming in and a much higher class of Chinese into this country than you are now getting in under present conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. RAMSPECK. If I gather the correct import of your testimony, you think that we need to do this thing in order to keep China in the war; is that correct?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think it would be very helpful. I would not prophesy that China will drop out of the war if we do not repeal these exclusion laws.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I gained the impression from your testimony that you seem to think that we are under some obligation to China. On the contrary, as I understand it, we came to the assistance of China; they are fighting for the same reason we are—they were attacked by the Japanese.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. But I think we are very anxious to keep them in the war and keep them fighting.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I grant you that is true; we want all the help we can get against the common enemy, but do you not think they want the same thing? Do they not want to keep us in the war until they whip the Japanese?

Mr. FREEMAN. Some elements in the country do, but there are elements which are growing discouraged. They are growing discouraged by the suffering which they are undergoing. They are also growing discouraged by the propaganda of the Japanese, which is to the effect that the western democracies are not sincere; they do not like you; they think of you as inferior; they are simply using you in this present emergency. Why not join with us and have Asia for the Asiatics?

Now, this is an argument which appeals to some of the Chinese.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Well, do you not think the Chinese are smart enough to know that that means having Asia for the Japanese?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek does and the gentlemen who are surrounding him.

I think there are a great many, when this propaganda is being pounded into them, day after day, who are beginning to melt.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I have great admiration for the fight the Chinese have put up, but I do not want anybody to encourage the Chinese to feel that we are under some obligation to them to keep them in this war. They are fighting for their existence, just like we are.

Mr. FREEMAN. I was looking at it from our point of view and not from theirs. It was purely a selfish argument, that we wanted them because it would be helpful to us in our war effort.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Well, but the same rule applies to them; they need us as much as we need them, perhaps more, because we have the resources and they have not.

Mr. FREEMAN. I hope that they continue to think that way.

Mr. RAMSPECK. So do I. I do not want anything to happen here to give them the idea that we are dependent on them, or are under obligation to them. We want their cooperation and would like to get it, but I think it is a mistake to encourage the Chinese to believe that we are dependent on them or are under any obligation to them. Certainly we ought not to encourage the idea we are dependent on them or under obligation to them, to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act to keep them in the war.

Mr. FREEMAN. No. It is a mutual situation.

Mr. RAMSPECK. If they do not have sense enough to understand the Japanese would destroy them, then they have less sense than I think they have.

Mr. FREEMAN. But it would be a catastrophe for us if they did drop out of the war.

Mr. RAMSPECK. But it would be a greater catastrophe for them if they dropped out of the war.

Mr. FREEMAN. But I am not so concerned about them as I am about ourselves.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Of course; that is exactly what I am getting at. You are advocating something here, as I gather you are, that we must do something here to keep them in the war. I do not want to consider it on that basis. I am not going to consider it on that basis.

If I vote for it, it will be on the basis of common sense, and justice and not on the ground that we are paying them to stay in the war.

If we have got to do that, then I am not in favor of it.

Mr. ALLEN. I might say to the gentleman that the burden of probably 90 percent of the testimony has been that we should do this for the purpose of keeping them in the war. And I have felt that this open hearing all along would do more harm than good, because it will lead our Chinese friends to feel that we ought to do this thing for them and then if we do not do it, why, then, they do not owe anybody anything and they are free to drop out, or quit, or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not say that that has been the testimony, Mr. Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. I think it has been.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I want the Chinese and everybody else to understand that I am not going to vote for a bill like this to pay the Chinese to stay in the war.

Mr. FREEMAN. It is a matter of justice and fair treatment for the Chinese and this action, if we should take it, certainly would tend to encourage those elements in China that are friendly to us.

Mr. RAMSPECK. I am willing to consider it on that basis, but not that it is to pay them to stay in the war for their own freedom.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Meyer, will you come forward?

STATEMENT OF CLARENCE E. MEYER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO.

Mr. MEYER. My name is Clarence E. Meyer. I represent the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. My residence at the present time is in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MEYER. In appearing before this committee, I wish to preface my remarks with a brief sketch of my background.

I went to China in 1913 in the employ of the Standard Oil of New York, and resided there in various provinces and cities until 1935, when I was transferred by my firm to Japan where I remained until I was repatriated by the *Gripsholm* in August 1942. From July 1936 until the time of Pearl Harbor I was general manager in Japan of the Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., which is now the operating company in the Far East.

I strongly feel that exclusion of Chinese under our immigration laws constitutes the one great obstacle in the path of friendly relations between the United States of America and China.

To the Chinese, who are justifiably proud of their old civilization and culture, our exclusion laws are unjustifiably discriminatory, and so long as they remain in effect we cannot count on a lasting friendship between the two countries.

I am convinced that it is important both to the successful prosecution of the war and to our post-war relations with China that we lose no time in removing this obstacle. As an ally in war and as a partner in the international cooperation visualized at the end of the war, China merits the removal of this badge of inferiority.

I have observed the effects of our exclusion laws both in China and Japan during my residence in those countries, and I have noted

that fundamentally the reaction in both countries there has been acute resentment over the implied inferiority.

In China it has at times manifested itself publicly in the form of boycotts. In Japan it has been one of the contributing influences in molding Japan's visions of empire and world domination.

In my opinion to permit the present laws to remain unchanged is to invite circumstances which would seriously impair our national interests. In the first place, it would strengthen the propaganda of Japan, who is taking full advantage of the situation with a view to winning over the Chinese. Such propaganda, coupled with their present military drive toward Chansha and Chungking, might result in Japan's doing to China what we United Nations are in process of doing to Italy, namely, take them out of the war.

From the Chinese point of view, China has been called upon ever since Pearl Harbor to exercise great tolerance and patience in seeing out strength concentrated more on Europe than on Japan. If at this juncture we should reassert our exclusion policy, China may be inclined to review her ideas as to whether America or Japan can offer the best basis for cooperation.

But although China does remain in the company of the United Nations throughout the war, her attitude toward America will not be genuinely friendly so long as our present exclusion laws are in operation, and the more she acquires strength and independence, the more the fruits of her resentment will be evidenced.

I would expect in such circumstances to witness great difficulties in the negotiation of a new commercial treaty, which has become necessary through the termination of extraterritoriality.

My understanding is that if the quota policy were substituted for the present exclusion, China would possess an annual quota of 107. Limited to such a number, it is obvious that a selected group would be admitted. Consequently, the influence on our standards of living would be so infinitesimally small as to be negligible.

To my mind, much good will is available to us for a very minor concession in our immigration policy, and the good will which is concerned is vital to our national welfare, as without it we shall incur the risk of another war in which white supremacy may be openly challenged by the oriental races.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Meyer, would you make that same concession to other orientals?

Mr. MEYER. I would deal with each one on its own merits. I think that you gentlemen who are in charge of this problem are much better equipped to deal with that than I am. And I would deal with this as an individual practical matter for the moment.

Mr. ALLEN. All right. In dealing with it, though, if you were a member of this committee, would you grant the same consideration to other oriental races as you would to the Chinese?

Mr. MEYER. I think the factors involved here are peculiar to the Chinese and therefore I advocate this relaxation for China, and I have not studied the other problems enough to allow me to have an opinion on the subject.

Mr. ALLEN. All right. You have been in Japan; you know the Japanese.

Mr. MEYER. Yes; and I know, too, that our exclusion law causes such deep resentment that Japan had no difficulty in unifying their country against the white race.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, do you feel, then, that we made a mistake in excluding the Japanese from citizenship?

Mr. MEYER. That is not for me to say, whether a mistake was made or not.

Mr. ALLEN. As an individual.

Mr. MEYER. I think that as a result, it gave them a basis for wonderful propaganda to be used against us.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, do you think that we ought to change the law as to Japan? You are acquainted with Japan. Should we change it as to Japan?

Mr. MEYER. I should certainly wait until the war is over before I even thought about it, because I am not in the mood—I am afraid I would not deal with the greatest of justice if I were to legislate for the Japanese at the moment.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, some of us are not in the mood to let the Japanese in, ever; and at the moment we are not in the mood to break down our internal immigration policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think that you have given us a pretty fine picture and we thank you.

Any other questions?

I am going to adjourn this hearing today and we are going to convene tomorrow at 10 o'clock. I am hoping that we can close public hearings by tomorrow, and the witnesses should be here promptly at 10 o'clock.

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Chairman, I have a telegram from Honolulu which I would like to read into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FARRINGTON (reading):

Personally sympathetic to effort to repeal Chinese Exclusion Act; Hawaii Chinese have contributed materially toward our war effort; they make good citizens and residents.

E. J. STEPHENSON,

Department Commander, Hawaii Veterans Foreign Wars.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

We will adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned, to reconvene Thursday, June 3, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1943

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Samuel Dickstein (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mrs. Jennie B. McNair? Will you come forward, please, Mrs. McNair?

STATEMENT OF MRS. JENNIE B. McNAIR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mrs. McNAIR. I lived in China for about 23 years. I went there as a missionary with my husband. Several years later he resigned from the mission and went into an import and export business. For a number of years now he has been manager of a British firm in Shanghai, and is still there.

We are both Americans of several generations, and were born in Georgia, where we lived until we went out to China. Two of our five children were born in China, and we have three sons in the service of our country.

When we went out to China in 1914, we went directly to our mission station in the interior. Our first and paramount impression was that the people living on the opposite side of the globe from us had many customs and mannerisms opposite our own. Within 2 days we were assigned a Chinese teacher. He did not speak a word of English, nor we one word of Chinese. Day after day we plugged away at the language. Occasionally we ventured to inject American ideas, or suggest what we felt would be constructive changes in the mission work, but we were always confronted with the statement from an older missionary, "Oh, but you don't understand the Chinese."

We found the Chinese to be kind, courteous, and hospitable. They came from far and near to call upon us and welcomed us most cordially to their land. It was not long before we were able, with gestures and a few fragmentary sentences, to attempt conversation in their language, but they never criticized our failures nor mistakes in the use of their language; on the contrary, they praised and complimented us on every hand.

When I was able to make my first speech they gave me tremendous applause, and said it was like a mute in their midst who had suddenly received the power of speech. Later my work consisted of teaching and visiting the people in their homes. We established three churches

and three schools. For every one thing I tried to do for them they seemed to do two for me.

I have lived in their large inland cities and ports; I have spent many weeks in villages in the rural districts; I have traveled in the country by wheelbarrow, ricksha, and buckboard. I have also traveled on rivers and canals, in slow Chinese houseboats, American gasoline launches, and British and Japanese steamboats.

I have enjoyed many pleasant summer vacations on China's sacred mountains, and on the beaches of her shores. I was honored to have many choice friends during my stay there. Among them Gen. Feng Yu-Hsiang, the famous Christian general, and vice chairman of the National military council. Madam Chiang Kai-shek's mother was a close personal friend of mine, as was her father, and I was often in their home. Madam Chiang's sister, Mrs. H. H. Kung, is also a close friend.

It is my opinion that the Chinese have a very definite contribution to add to our culture and way of life. China has so much that is fine which would blend admirably with our civilization. It is their tolerant, patient, peaceable quality that makes them a valuable social unit. Of all the Asiatic peoples, the Chinese are considered the most easily governed.

Their rules of ceremony number 300 and their rules of behavior are 3,000. They have brought the practice of politeness to a pitch of perfection.

They are marvels at lubricating friction in the everyday life. The moment a quarrel or disturbance begins, peacemakers immediately appear on the scene and each belligerent is seized and tranquilized with good advice. They never fight the peacemaker for interfering. Thus the "peace talker" is the most useful factor in Chinese social life.

It is a known fact that in a certain village numbering a thousand families with at least five to the family, for more than a generation there was not a single lawsuit.

This was due to the restraining influence of the village elders for in earlier days it was the opinion of the Chinese that professional lawyers, charging a fee for their services, encouraged litigation. In times of civil war or any internal dissension, the people have always been held intact purely by sentiment and custom.

Everything is utilized in China, even a scrap the size of the finger is used in making shoe soles. It has been said of them that they seem to be able to do almost everything by means of almost nothing. The chief qualification for a young woman seeking matrimony is that she must know how to economize. And I do not need to tell you that the Chinese are past masters in the culinary art.

In early times China's strength was in her culture. She had trusted her isolated position, but the superior methods of European warfare opened her doors to the foreign trader with the result that racial superiority grew by leaps and bounds.

Because the occidental did not understand the Chinese he felt himself superior, whereas the Chinese knew he was superior for he was not guilty of such barbarous and aggressive acts. And during these years the Chinese have often reminded us that the same treaty which gave China the Bible and the missionary, also gave them opium.

Opening China's door did not open up the minds and hearts of the people to us. In their humiliation they only tolerated us because they were powerless to get rid of us. They have had more trouble than we have with immigration and have strenuously opposed it because of the behavior of many of the disreputable avaricious white people who have entered her country and desecrated her land.

They not only moved in without her permission, but brought their army, navy, and courts as well. They said it was necessary due to the injustice of Chinese law, but if they had behaved as Marco Polo, who went only with his uncle, and had treated the Chinese as friends, history would have recorded a different story.

So it was in exasperation, after years of misunderstanding, some Chinese, through what we have termed the Boxer Rebellion, attempted to rid themselves of the hated foreigner whom they accused of subversive activities which they felt had displeased their ancestors, as the rains had been withheld and the crops had failed.

This method, as we know, only multiplied China's sorrows and was the means of foreign nations exacting more concessions and treaties, and also heavy indemnities were strapped upon her.

And even up to the beginning of this war those indemnities were being regularly collected by leading foreign nationals, even though the present generation of Chinese had nothing whatever to do with it.

Even our own diplomacy with China has not yet left the suspicious stage, as she still does not know what we intend to do now, nor in the future. Therefore, it would be well for us to review our past relations with her with a serious and open mind.

China has appreciated our return of our part of the Boxer indemnity fund, and all of our efforts on her behalf. She knows that long ago she perhaps would have become another India, or have been divided among the leading world powers had not America stood in the breach. She knows that it has been due to America's efforts and influence that her sovereignty has been preserved. And it is this which she is more grateful to us for than anything else we have done.

On May 29, 1943, James Steuart, speaking from Chungking over Columbia's News of the World program, said:

The Japanese are now granting more power to Wang Ching Wei, the Nanking puppet, and are even allowing the Chinese businessmen to make a little money.

This is significant and bears out the many other reports we have received of Japan's pacification efforts. And it is also well to note that the Chinese never disliked the German people; in fact, they have had more cause to dislike the British. In the past they felt that the Germans had less of the superiority complex which they have so disliked in the British.

I strongly favor this legislation as a means of strengthening our position in the Orient and strengthening our friendship ties with China. The gesture of this legislation embraces great potentialities for our present and future. It has immediate and tremendous advantages for us as a war measure. It will give the Chinese a big boost at a time when they need just this thing to come from us. It will strengthen their faith and confidence in us and will have tremendous weight in combating Japanese propaganda and pacification efforts.

To future peace and stability in the Orient, and as a stimulus to our future commerce there we could not at this time make a greater diplomatic move.

China is yet to be developed on the modern pattern, and now she must be rebuilt. Through our long friendship with her we are in a position to get the greater part of that commerce, and there is no place in the world where "face" and good relations play such an important part. In China you may lose your money but you can start again with Chinese help, but if you lose your face you might as well move on.

America has a two-front war. It is erroneous to think that Japan will bide our time to fight us. All of her victories have had to be quick, and a surprise, or she could not have won them.

To win this war as quickly as possible and with the minimum of loss of life, has become a slogan with the American people. To this end we have for some time been working feverishly and expending enormous sums of money to gain, and hold, the friendship of nations which, of course, is preferable to war and the loss of our sons and destruction of our shores and cities.

Our leaders tell us that we have several years of war before us—and I believe Mr. Churchill said 5—however, if we are to wait until our forces are disengaged from Europe, and the monsoon season has passed in Burma, I fear our task in the Orient will have become almost superhuman and we shall need the absolute and unstinted help of all of our allies.

China's importance to us as an ally in war and in peace cannot be overestimated. In their struggle against Japan for the past 6 years she has been engaged in the most gigantic task ever attempted by any nation—war and reconstruction.

They have fought desperately with small arms, inadequate medical care and supplies. Many of their victories have been won on sheer blood and brawn, and the will to resist. They have astounded the world and regained their position as a leading world power.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that covers that.

Are there any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. No questions.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. McNAIR. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hunt?

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM P. HUNT, REPRESENTING HIMSELF

Mr. HUNT. William P. Hunt, representing William P. Hunt & Co. I will explain that I was American vice consul at Tientsen from 1925 to 1927. I was head of the United States Shipping Board for 1 year thereafter, and subsequently I went into trade, establishing my own firm.

We represent some 40 American manufacturers in the export business. We handle some of Chinese products, which include some of the strategic materials for this country, but in the gathering, we have had to call upon the Chinese to take long hazards in close proximity to the Japanese mines.

As vice consul, I handled immigration work to the United States and I found that every Chinese who approached me for a visa did it

with diffidence. He was very circumspect about coming to us because he was inoculated with the fact that under the laws of the United States he was considered undesirable.

We had to try through the Government policy in giving up the Boxer indemnity and using it for the education of students, to show that we had nothing but good will—and through the establishment of the open door, but that has not been sufficient for the Chinese to believe that the great democracy to which they look for world leadership, did not desire to have them become members of our society over here, and citizens.

In trade, building waterworks, erecting power plants, looking over the rural economy, operating steamships from the North Atlantic States to the southern States on the Pacific coast, we often were caused to call upon the Chinese to dictate the use of vessels. Naturally as operators of American-flag steamers we asked the Chinese to patronize American lines, and we found them highly enthusiastic about the idea.

In the selling of American goods we were competing with European competition based upon an economy that made for extended credit and low prices against high priced cash American goods. But even there we found that the Chinese bent every effort to affect the purchase of these goods.

But nevertheless, throughout all of this time the Chinese have been confounded and confused by this thing which has stuck in their craw, that is still on the statute books of the United States which has precluded their being asked into our society as American citizens.

I was interned by the Japanese at Hong Kong, and I was chairman of the American community in the Japanese Hong Kong prison camp. We did not have sufficient food. Three hundred and fifty packages twice a week were later allowed to come into camp, and these were all sent in by Chinese; the Chinese in a city who did not have much money; Chinese who had to put their return address and their names on these parcels.

The Japanese have a law that the Chinese cannot communicate with enemy nationals, but these Chinese, mindful of the friendships that they had established, defied these regulations of the Japanese, and twice a week, though they were on the verge of bankruptcy, though there was price inflation, these Chinese sent those parcels into that prison camp.

The same in Shanghai. In Shanghai where I was taken afterwards from the prison camp for examination, the Chinese there were gathering things and sending them to the International Red Cross to take down to the military prison camp where the Guam prisoners are kept and incarcerated. This despite the fact that in Shanghai this rise in the cost of living has gone up 60 times—and the fact that they are not supposed to treat or trade with enemy nationals and so forth.

Coming into the territory in which we see that the Japanese fifth column operated, in which we see that the Chinese came in and destroyed the depots and so forth, and undertook the most courageous work as an ally, out over the ether goes a report to the Chinese "Asia for the Asiatics" and "this ally that you have that won't let you into his country, you are barred by him"; and they remind you of that legislation.

So, strategically, in the picture of war, I do not think it is a good thing.

After all, all of you are aware that when the Doolittle fliers arrived in China, the Chinese nurtured them and took care of them; so much so that when one of the Doolittle fliers arrived in Chungking he said to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, "Madame, it was just like coming home."

But let us be more selfish about it. In the post-war we are going to have trade with these people. These people are being inoculated today with this stuff that is going out to them that we are not their associates, that we have some high objective to exploit them, and that if we were their real associate we would allow them into our country and this barrier would be taken down.

I hate to think in the post-war competition that will ensue on what basis we can treat with the Chinese if the bills are not adopted here which will enable the Chinese, 107 or 108 of them a year, to enter this country.

Because the Chinese are very personable people, in addition to being highly national-conscious—they just won't be able to think that we are that great big brother which we say we are.

And so I say I think in the post-war era when we have to keep our factories going, when we will need to export our factories' world commodity products—what will we do about it?

The Chinese have always paid in cash, and any loan she has got she has paid back faithfully; so we can only trade, I think, on that same cash basis in the post-war, and I do not think we could stand the torpedoes of competitors of trade in the post-war if this statute remains on the books.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have made a splendid statement. May I ask you this question? You say you were a prisoner at Hong Kong?

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you one of the exchange prisoners?

Mr. HUNT. Yes. Then, the Japanese took me from Hong Kong to Shanghai for examination.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened at that point with you? How did you get back?

Mr. HUNT. I came back on the *Gripsholm*.

The CHAIRMAN. With other refugees?

Mr. HUNT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And were there many Americans in the same position you were?

Mr. HUNT. What do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many other Americans kept as prisoners?

Mr. HUNT. Yes; in Hong Kong we had 113 in the prison camp including men, women, and children. I think we had 32 children.

The CHAIRMAN. White people?

Mr. HUNT. All white. The Japanese took the Chinese wives of the American prisoners and took them out of camp, said they could not remain in because they were not enemy aliens.

Of course, you see even the food the Japs gave us we had to spike up with condiments, so we had sort of a relay at night over the wires

to get the condiments from the wives of those fellows, who were out. And then we had a couple of bundles there from Chinese assistants.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Starr? Cornelius Starr?

STATEMENT OF CORNELIUS V. STARR, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNDERWRITERS

Mr. STARR. Cornelius V. Starr, American International Underwriters. I am the chairman. It is an insurance agency.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Starr.

Mr. STARR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have no prepared statement. I am the chairman of the American International Underwriters, managers of the foreign operations of a rather large number of American fire and marine insurance companies.

I lived from 1920 until 1940 in Shanghai; the business which I now operate originated in Shanghai, and later developed in New York, and is now operating in Latin-America.

I am sure that the committee has heard arguments from ever so many people who have been able to tell you much more eloquently than I of the characteristics of the Chinese people.

I had several thousands of them working for me and I traveled through the whole of China and these same heartwarming experiences and close friendships were mine, but primarily, I am a businessman and I prefer to look at this immigration problem as coldly and as realistically as I can. And about all I have to say is that I am profoundly convinced that any benefit to the United States or any group of people in the United States we can possibly get from the Chinese Exclusion Act today or in the future is entirely disproportionate to the harm that it has been doing since the quota method of restricting immigration was introduced, and that it will do in the future.

The Chinese are undoubtedly natural friends, and I myself am convinced that they are our natural allies, not for just this war but permanently and strategically in the Orient.

There have been times when the Chinese have been quite vocal. At one time there was an incipient boycott against the American interests generally because of their feeling about the Chinese Exclusion Act.

I would like to emphasize I am not opposed to restricting immigration and I fully realize the problem that immigration is to the United States. I would no more recommend letting down all bars than I would letting down all bars to manufactured goods produced from cheap labor areas, because I think the effects would be the same.

But I do feel that this is a humiliating discrimination which can be corrected in the framework of a formula which we have now been using for some years. To continue this discrimination, this humiliating discrimination which can be changed, is unwise politically, unwise commercially, it seems to me has the possibilities, the probabilities of sowing the seed of future trouble that may be very costly.

I cannot speak strongly enough of my conviction that with such phraseology as would limit the entrance of Chinese to Chinese nationals, that China has not only by her present position of alliance with us, but also by virtue of her great renaissance and her brilliant future

which any but the most perverse can see, deserves to be treated on the same basis as other quota nations.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have been there for 20 years?

Mr. STARR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In China?

Mr. STARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know the people?

Mr. STARR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you feel, as an American, that this would be a great help not only to the war effort but also commercially, to this country?

Mr. STARR. I think there is no question about that.

I would not put it first in importance, but I think it is quite certainly true.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Starr?

Mr. STARR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. Do you feel that the same privilege extended to the Chinese ought to be extended to other orientals, the Hindus and Koreans? And the others?

Mr. STARR. No; no. It seems to me that you are dealing in China with a sovereign nation, where you can deal in terms of nationalities. When you speak of Asiatics and Asiatic people, you speak of races.

When I speak of China now, modern China, I speak of a nation.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, suppose that the 400,000,000 people in India and the millions of other orientals, the Koreans and those of Malaya, and other places, should also come in here and ask that they be given the same recognition to come to this country and become citizens, would you deny that to them?

Mr. STARR. It seems to me that each of these requests would have to be approved on its merits, and I should say that none of these, coldly and realistically, has the importance to us that the great Chinese Nation has, which compared to any of these people, is a far more cultured, a far more advanced economic unit, and is rapidly becoming a far more important military unit and political unit.

Mr. ALLEN. Then you do not take the position that oriental exclusion has been bad, except as to China?

Mr. STARR. I take the position that when oriental exclusion originally was enacted it was desirable and necessary. It was before we had worked out the quota formula for restricting immigration generally. It was to meet an emergency because of the influx of Chinese coolie labor and it was a most natural reaction, but I think that it has lost its validity and has lost its value now because we can find a way of controlling the situation without discriminating against these people.

Mr. ALLEN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Starr.

Is Miss Marion Dudley, of the Y. W. C. A. here?

STATEMENT OF MISS MARION DUDLEY, REPRESENTING THE INTERNATIONAL YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Miss DUDLEY. I represent the International Y. W. C. A. and I am a South Carolinian and also came back on the *Gripsholm* after being a prisoner of the Japanese for 6 months in Hong Kong.

I want to tell you very briefly what I have seen myself and what I know to be true.

I know that you have heard here many arguments and have gone back over the same ground. I only want to tell you what I know myself, and mention simply three points.

I have lived in China for 8 years and was in Hong Kong during the siege. During the siege we were under shelling and bombing for 3 weeks, and during that time we had showers of leaflets coming down from the Japanese, as well as the shells and bombs. And I want to tell you that that propaganda is very clever. If you picked up the leaflets you could not resist hunting around to find more of them because they were funny, and they were very, very convincing.

After the Japanese took the city, we would see posters that they put up for the Chinese populace. They were clever, well-drawn; they made their point.

They had an English newspaper written separately for the Chinese populace who spoke English and the propaganda was very convincing. They took every weak point to say that "your allies do not care for you; they will exploit you."

They used every avenue to build up a new order—Asia for the Asiatics; and so you really wanted to read all this. We tried to find the leaflets, so that we ourselves could see the thing they wanted to have the Chinese know. And so I know this propaganda is very effective, and I have been influenced by it and the curiosity that is aroused, in my own mind.

I want to tell you about the people that are hearing this propaganda. I want to tell you about the cruel blockade. I do not want you to pity the poor Chinese, but I want to tell you about what it really means.

I came into Hong Kong only 12 days before the Japanese got there, myself.

I came out of Free China, where I had been hungry. When you sat down to the table, you would say to yourself, "Watch out now; do not take more than your share."

That was the spirit of all of us, we persons with money in our pockets. That blockade was a cruel thing, and when we were ready to leave, we gave away everything we had, little tubes of toothpaste, little bits of soap; I gave my shoes away, and went in my bedroom slippers because things are so hard to get.

A farmer told me, "I want to cultivate my crops. What would you do? Would you go out and work in the fields and get hungrier, or would you stay at home and save your strength?" He said, "If I cultivate my fields, the Japanese may come and raid them all. What would you do?"

I take that as a symbol for China.

When we think of Japanese propaganda dinned into the ears of people who are weary and discouraged, and discouragement I believe saps one's energy, then maybe you feel like the farmer, like just sitting at the door.

We must remember that human beings can stand just so much, and the feeling is, "Maybe our allies do not care for us." Morale is an important part of our warfare.

We have never had an American concession in China. We do have a heritage to be proud of. But what sort of a moral leadership do we have now?

Do you remember Willkie's words when he said, "Do we have a reservoir of good will?"

The Chinese have never clamored for the end of the Exclusion Act. They are too proud. But the Japanese have kept the question before them. People ask, "Do the Chinese know about the Exclusion Act?" Of course they know. The Japanese see that they know.

So we must be consistent. China will look to us and wonder if we are sincere; if we are consistent in what we say. Where else will they look? Where else will they turn? They want to be our friends.

And so I think that it is our responsibility to give any gesture that we can which will help them believe in us and trust us.

In the war in Hong Kong the Canadian soldiers were all around us and I watched them go over the hills to get the Japanese, and they looked sick and I felt sick because that was the beginning of this jungle warfare, and it was a penetration of the Japanese when they were in front of you and behind you. That was the beginning of it then.

It is not going to be easy. It is going to be difficult, and it is going to cost many lives.

The Chinese have been fighting that kind of warfare and they know how. Every minute we are wasting is costing lives.

So however important it is to the Chinese that this Exclusion Act be done away with, we should do everything we can, and we should maintain our place as a friend of China.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Dudley, you say you were there how long?

Miss DUDLEY. I have been in China 8 years.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have mixed with the people?

Miss DUDLEY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do the Chinese themselves know just what the Exclusion Act is?

Miss DUDLEY. Oh, yes; quite. They are conversant with it. It is not that they talk about it very much; they are too proud, but you know it is there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you picked up as a prisoner?

Miss DUDLEY. In Hong Kong. I was interned in a camp for 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there other Americans there at that time?

Miss DUDLEY. Over 300 of us altogether. That was the same camp Mr. Hunt was in.

The CHAIRMAN. I see; you were all neighbors?

Miss DUDLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you came from North Carolina?

Miss DUDLEY. South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do, missionary work?

Miss DUDLEY. Y. W. C. A.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Miss DUDLEY. We go out under our national board here and work under the Chinese National Committee in China.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. ALLEN. Miss Dudley, I appreciate your sincerity, I do not question that. I do question the wisdom of witnesses, including yourself, in your testimony creating the impression—whether you do it consciously or unconsciously—that we have not done anything for China.

You are familiar with the fact, are you not, that the Congress sent China half a billion dollars at one time? You know that, do you not? That was a year or so ago.

Miss DUDLEY. I would like to remind you that I said that we had a great friendship with China and that was the reason China was trusting us in this thing to be consistent.

Mr. ALLEN. And of course our men are over there now doing everything that they can do. We have, from my own State of Louisiana, the great General Chennault over there and I am sure that he and his brave men are doing what they can to alleviate the situation.

It strikes me that the greatest thing we can do for China, far more than any little matter like this, will be to exert ourselves even more to get planes and the gasoline and other implements of warfare so that China may drive out the Japs.

You do not take the position that China is so weak-kneed over the proposition that she will get out of the war, regardless of what action the Congress may take on this small matter here, do you?

Miss DUDLEY. No. I think China will always have the will to stay in, but the discouragement and exhaustion will weaken her, and this would be assurance in the face of Japanese propaganda.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, regardless of what action we take here, Japan will still spread her propaganda.

Miss DUDLEY. But we can end this much of it.

Mr. ALLEN. And regardless of what action we take here, we would have no way in the world to get our propaganda to the Chinese in occupied territory.

Miss DUDLEY. Oh, why not?

Mr. ALLEN. Well, the Japs are there and they control the situation. How are you going to get in there without getting your head shot off?

Miss DUDLEY. It is very simple.

Mr. ALLEN. You mean you know how to do it?

Miss DUDLEY. I do know how to do it. I have been there and they know everything.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, if you know how to get in there—

Miss DUDLEY. Before we went into the war—

Mr. ALLEN. I think the State Department and the War Department, and all of them would like to consult with you.

Mr. MASON. There is a misunderstanding. I do not think that the gentlemen from Louisiana understood what you said. You said that you have been in the occupied territory, and that you know from personal experience that they do keep in touch with what is going on in the outside world, in spite of the Japanese?

Miss DUDLEY. Right.

Mr. MASON. He understood you, I think from the tone of his questioning, to say that you knew how to get this propaganda into the occupied territory. Your statement was that you had been there and they did get it, and you knew they got it?

Miss DUDLEY. It is not necessary; they know.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, can they get the propaganda in there?

Miss DUDLEY. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. In other words, right under the Japanese guns they are shrewd enough to get the propaganda in there?

Mr. BENNETT. And passing laws over here could not stop them from doing that, could it?

Miss DUDLEY. Well, as soon as we pass the laws over here, the news will spread through occupied China as well as Free China.

Mr. WINSTEAD. Well, would they consider that we might repeal our action after the war is over? Will they consider that we are more or less playing the double-cross part?

Miss DUDLEY. I think their answer here is in their answer when the extraterritorial treaties were done away with, and the people's understanding of why we had done it, realistic understanding, the belief that we meant it and that we would continue along that line.

I think that we get the pattern from that time, and it will be the same thing. I believe they want to trust us.

Mr. WINSTEAD. You think it would be effective?

Miss DUDLEY. Yes; very.

Mr. MASON. And, Madam, would it be right to state that you think the passage of this law lifting this stigma would be effective, because of your first-hand knowledge of how effective the voluntary giving up of the extraterritorial rights was at that time?

Miss DUDLEY. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Thank you very much.

Admiral Yarnell?

STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL H. E. YARNELL, UNITED STATES NAVY, RETIRED

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, we know your background, but we would like to get a statement from you for the record.

Admiral YARNELL. Well, I am a retired admiral in the Navy, and my last duty was as commander in chief of the Asiatic station from October 1936 to July 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Admiral YARNELL. I have a prepared statement.

It is generally appreciated by those who follow the course of the war in the Far East that the main attack on Japan must come from the mainland of Asia. This area is the only one from which air power adequate to inflict serious or decisive damage to Japanese arsenals and munition plants can operate and from which forces for the invasion of the main Japanese islands can be based.

Russian bases cannot be relied upon since these would probably be occupied by Japanese troops very soon after the war between Japan

and Russia began. This is due to the exposed position of the Vladivostok area with reference to the advantageous position of the powerful Japanese Army in Manchuria which renders the successful defense of this area a very difficult operation.

This leaves the mainland of China the only area from which long-range bombers can reach Japan, and leads to the conclusion that allied success against Japan requires the continuance of China in the war.

It is needless to enlarge upon the desperate situation in China today, and the grave possibility that the Nationalist Government may collapse unless effective aid is given at the earliest possible moment.

The military situation is of course known to those in authority in this country and Great Britain, and doubtless every effort is being made to give all possible military assistance.

There are other means, however, of strengthening the determination of the Chinese Government and people to fight on until real and adequate assistance can be given.

The most effective method is to consider, by act as well as word, China as an equal in every respect with the other three Allied Nations in the conduct of the war and in the post-war settlement.

A step in this direction has been made in the announced intention of annulling the treaties regarding extra-territoriality and special privileges.

A greater step will be the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. Such a step will compare with that of the dissolution of the Third International in the effect it will have on the Allied cause.

As you know, Japan has utilized American exclusion laws with much effect in her propaganda campaign in China and other areas of the Far East. By the repeal of these laws, this means of stirring up hatred of the Western nations will be eliminated.

In the consideration of the repeal of these laws, we also should look beyond the war to the peace settlement and the years to follow.

When the time for that settlement comes, the four nations that have contributed the most to the defeat of the Axis Powers will have the main task and responsibility of arriving at terms that will ensure a durable peace. Each should have an equal voice and there should be no bar which will interfere.

Furthermore, in order to ensure peace in the Far East, there must be a strong, stable, and democratic government in China. We have every reason to expect that if the Nationalist regime remains in power. We need not fear from this nation a policy of world conquest such as has been the curse of Japan. Chinese tradition, history, and philosophy oppose such policy.

The friendship that has existed between the United States and China for many years must continue in the future if we hope to maintain peace in the world. It cannot continue if these laws are retained on the statute books. Modern China is determined to take her rightful place in the congress of nations. It is our duty and it is to our interest to help her attain that end.

In conclusion, it is my conviction that the repeal of these laws will have far-reaching effects as a war and as a post-war measure. It will also be a partial recognition of the bravery and endurance of a great people who for 6 years have been fighting America's most dangerous enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, you naturally base that conclusion upon your actual experience, both from the strategic standpoint of the war as well as from observation which you have made while in charge of that area?

Admiral YARNELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you think the removing of that restriction and the fixing of a small quota would really bring home to the Chinese people our sincerity—I am talking of the American sincerity—more than just preaching that we are their friends; and will lift the morale of China until we can get some aid in there?

Admiral YARNELL. I think it would have a very great effect and I think it is necessary in the post-war time, especially.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not need to answer some of the questions I may ask you if the information is a military secret or if you do not want to disclose it. Do you know how many men we have in there now?

Admiral YARNELL. No; I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think we will need China after this war is over?

Admiral YARNELL. I beg pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. Will we have to have men stationed in China after this war is over?

Admiral YARNELL. In China?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Admiral YARNELL. China has a tremendous army available of excellent soldier material, and all they need are munitions and leadership, training. If we can keep China in the war there is no necessity, as far as I can see, of sending a single American soldier to China outside of technicians and advisers and people who can help them organize and train their Army.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would be our first line of defense and a protection of our security as a democracy on this side of the ocean—some one to depend upon to maintain peace and order?

Admiral YARNELL. Yes, sir. It is absolutely necessary that China be established as a strong, stable nation if there is to be further peace in the Far East.

The CHAIRMAN. And is there any doubt that China will be that firm, stable, sound nation that will be ready to defend its democracy and the principles and philosophy of life that we are fighting for today?

Admiral YARNELL. If we can keep her in the war, no; but if China does collapse and falls under the domination of the Japanese, it will be many years before the old Chinese tradition of democracy can reestablish itself, and that will be a period of turmoil in the Far East.

The CHAIRMAN. And the American Legion could not dispute that, could it?

Admiral YARNELL. I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor the American Federation of Labor, or anybody else could dispute those sound principles?

Admiral YARNELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you with the service, Admiral?

Admiral YARNELL. I entered the Navy in 1893—50 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

We appreciate your coming here and we thank you for this fine statement you have made.

Mr. MASON. Why, even a layman's mind like mine can grasp what the Admiral has placed before us.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to state that there are a number of individuals who are here desiring to be heard, and I am afraid it will be impossible to carry on these hearings for individual statements. I would suggest that persons who are listed on my schedule—I obtained the consent of some of them—file their statements on or before this next Tuesday for the purpose of the record.

This hearing stands adjourned and closed for executive session.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to go into executive session.)
(Statements filed in support of the bills:)

LETTER OF PALO ALTO TEACHERS UNION

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,

*Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: The Palo Alto Teachers Union has instructed me to inform you of our support of the proposed legislation to repeal the laws prohibiting immigration of Chinese, to put Chinese on the quota system, and to permit naturalization of all Chinese who have entered the United States in accordance with law.

We deplore the fact that certain members of the American Federation of Labor, of which we are a part, have opposed the proposed legislation, and believe that their view is not representative of the American Federation of Labor as a whole.

We are pleased to note that you personally are a strong advocate of the proposed recognition of our Chinese allies as our equals before the law and trust that your committee will come to your viewpoint.

Sincerely yours,

VICTOR E. HALL, M. D., *President.*

FORREST PARK, PA.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,

*Chairman, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

The general executive board of the International Lady Garment Workers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and representing 350,000 workers in session today strongly urges your committee to approve measure now before you calling for repeal of Chinese exclusion law and for making Chinese residents eligible for American citizenship. It is our firm conviction that now is the time to correct this long-standing evil against this great nation. Fear of coolie labor by opponents wholly unjustified as strong trade-union movements and Fair Labor Standards Act offer adequate safeguards against unscrupulous employers reinstituting any system of exploitation, whether Chinese or other. Our union, which has a number of Chinese members on the west coast, is fully qualified we believe to attest to this. It is our understanding measure places Chinese on quota system on equal basis with peoples of other national strains and would permit entrance of approximately 107 Chinese annually. Obviously this measure cannot open the door to flood of labor endangering living standards of American workers. On the other hand such act that would place the Chinese group on par with other groups in our national community being an act of good will and friendship would enhance American prestige all through Asia and would eventually stimulate trade with America and employment at home in the post-war period. We deem measure not only economically sound but militarily necessary as means of dealing a crushing blow to Japanese and Nazi propaganda throughout Far East directed against Allies and against America especially. Beyond that we deem measure a gesture of justice long delayed to a gallant ally who has fully

earned a place of equality among nations and equal treatment along with others in the family of the United Nations.

DAVID DUBINSKY,
President, International Lady Garment Workers Union.

CAFETERIA EMPLOYEES UNION, LOCAL 302,
New York, N. Y., June 2, 1943.

Congressman SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Since you are a member of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, we are writing to inform you that our union, an American Federation of Labor affiliate, with 7,000 members, favors passage of Representative Kennedy's bill to end Chinese exclusion. We feel that the American Federation of Labor, in testifying against the bill, does not represent all the unions affiliated with it.

We feel that military and political necessity deems that repeal of Chinese exclusion be enacted as soon as possible, and we count on your committee to report the bill out favorably.

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH FOX, *Secretary-Treasurer.*
WM. MESEVICH, *President.*

NEW YORK, N. Y., June 30, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

International Missionary Council, Foreign Missions Conference, and Federal Council of Churches have received from National Christian Council, Chungking, the following telegram: "National Christian Council considers revision immigration laws would greatly enhance traditional friendship China and America have. Incalculable good effect international relations, signed, Bishop W. Y. Chen, general secretary, National Christian Council." Also from American Missionaries: "Inform Senate, State Department, American Missionaries, Chungking, respectfully urge revision immigration law."

LUMAN J. SHAFER.
JOE J. MICKLE.

HONOLULU, May 27, 1943.

Delegate JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON,
Washington, D. C.:

Personally in sympathy with effort to repeal Chinese Exclusion Acts. Urgently request you cooperate and assist bill sponsors and work for their passage through Congress. Chinese in Hawaii have contributed materially toward our war effort. They make splendid citizens and residents.

LESTER PETRIE, *Mayor of Honolulu.*

SEATTLE, WASH., July 3, 1943.

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
Washington, D. C.:

Executive board of Building Service Employees International Union, Local 6, passed motion last night requesting your committee immediate favorable action on H. R. 2893, and request reading of telegram at committee hearing. Vitally important we deal with courageous Chinese allies on basis of equality. Passage of bill, in our opinion, worth hundreds of war planes to Chinese and would speed early victory in Pacific.

MERLIN L. COLE,
Secretary, Building Service Employees
International Union, Local 6.

TACOMA, WASH., June 30, 1943.

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

On recommendation of the Chamber's committee on immigration on national legislation and on foreign trade the Tacoma Chamber of Commerce, by unanimous vote of its directors, favors Congressman Gossett's bill which would repeal the Chinese exclusion laws, place Chinese on a quota basis, and repeal the laws denying Chinese the right of citizenship. Considering our long and friendly relations with China and its contribution to the war effort we think the present Congress would be derelict in its duty if it delayed for a brief time only action, and favorable action, on this legislation.

TACOMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION,
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,
Birmingham, Ala.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Your committee is of unusual importance these terrific days. I write to urge that in keeping with the principles and promises in the Atlantic Charter, you take necessary steps and use your influence to remove discriminatory exclusions from the privileges of citizenship in our United States of America. The visit of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek shows up the particular embarrassment of our Oriental Exclusion Act.

These brave allies have been over-patient with our superior attitude. Let us make this gesture of gratitude now by removing our Oriental Exclusion Act. Let us be ever courageous to do what is right before God and not deny the right of citizenship because of any difference in race, color, creed, or national origin. This would be reassuring to all people who hear our talk of "four freedoms", would it not?

Respectfully,

JULIETTE MATHER.

AVONDALE, N. C., May 26, 1943.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

(Attention Congressman Dickstein:)

DEAR SIR: Being a native southerner, I realize well the emotional dynamite that is involved in the racial issue. Hence I am intensely interested in learning that your committee is considering the important issue of China and Chinese immigration. In my own opinion the policy that we formulate today regarding the acceptance of Chinese immigrants on a quota basis, as we do the immigrants of certain other racial groups, will be of tremendous moral and psychological importance to the war effort and to future peaceful relations in the Orient. Naturally the Chinese people and their leaders will feel insulted and let down if we do not accept them as our racial equals now and in the future. In a real sense this issue and its settlement seems to involve the fate of our future relations with the entire Orient.

More important still, our sincerity as a democratic and Christian nation is involved. We have no moral justification for giving lip service to democratic and Christian principles while in practice we deny them. I hope that you will do everything possible to have the Congress reconsider our immigration laws, especially with regard to China.

Congratulations to you and your committee for opening discussions of this matter. The moral and spiritual forces of America are back of you demanding that this ancient wrong to China be erased.

Sincerely yours,

REV. S. B. MOSS,
The Methodist Church.

CLASSIS OF PARAMUS,
May 7, 1943.

CHAIRMAN, IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: At a meeting of the Classis of Paramus, a duly constituted body of the Reformed Church in America within the bounds of the Particular Synod of New Brunswick, comprising 28 churches with a membership of over 6,000 communicants, on May 5, 1943, at the First Reformed Church of North Paterson, Hawthorne, N. J., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas we believe the present racial discrimination in our immigration law is not conducive to healthy international relationships, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we urge the Congress of the United States to amend the present law so as to immediately extend to friendly and cobelligerent nations not now admissible the privilege of immigration on a quota basis with equal right with others of becoming citizens of our Nation."

The stated clerk was ordered to send a copy of this resolution to you.

Respectfully,

Attest:

THE CLASSIS OF PARAMUS,
TIMOTHY A. CRAMER,
Stated Clerk.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA BAPTIST CONVENTION,
San Francisco, Calif., June 5, 1943.

MR. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: We are very much interested in bill H. R. 1882 which is intended to grant to the Chinese rights of entry to the United States and rights of citizenship. Knowing of the contribution which the Chinese people have made to the life of California and appreciating what it must mean to them to feel that they are definitely excluded from the quota basis, we would appreciate any efforts which you can put forth to bring this bill before Congress with the request that it be passed.

We would like to go on record as letting Congress know that we favor this specific relaxation in the Oriental Exclusion Act.

Very sincerely yours,

GILBERT B. CHRISTIAN,
Acting Executive Secretary.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
Boston, Mass., May 11, 1943.

HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: I greatly appreciate your leadership in behalf of legislation removing the barriers against Chinese who should be allowed to enter our country on a quota basis with other nationals.

With the extreme face-saving sensitiveness of our oriental friends, with their devoted loyalty and friendship for us, it is especially fair and wise to correct the unwise legislation of the past.

When one considers, further, the threat of the colored peoples of the world in the future, as they react against the unfair treatment of the white race, it becomes absolutely vital for survival that the world's leading nation act immediately to encourage good will in China and India.

The world respects our achievements and trusts us in Christian idealism. We must not disappoint them. I can imagine nothing more vital to world welfare than continuing what you and your coworkers have started.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID VAUGHAN, D. D.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Newman, Calif., May 29, 1943.

CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Enough of our tongue-in-cheek admiration of our allies, the mighty Chinese people. How about all-out justice to these people. Exclusion by our faulty immigration laws is an insult to these people. As Christians the highest leadership of China is long-suffering and patient. They are more patient than Christian America could ever hope to be. The Christian forces of America are behind justice for the Chinese. Exclusion is not justice. Let's do something about it.

Sincerely,

PAUL L. HALL.

SECOND REFORMED CHURCH,
New Brunswick, N. J., June 22, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration Committee,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: May I earnestly express to you my concern over the proposed change in our immigration laws as these affect the Chinese. I am in favor of putting Chinese immigrants on a quota basis and permit Chinese residents now in this country to become American citizens.

I earnestly hope that the House Immigration Committee will so modify our immigration laws as to prevent unjust racial discrimination and to allow natives of other countries regardless of race or color, otherwise admissible, to enter this country under the existing quota system, and become citizens on the same terms as immigrants from nonoriental countries. In making these comments, I do so not only as a minister and teacher in the theological seminary, but as president of the New Jersey State Council of Churches.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON T. STAUFFER

THE GREATER NEW YORK FEDERATION OF CHURCHES,
New York City, June 23, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: I write to you, and through you both to yourself and to the House Immigration Committee, urging most strongly favorable action with regard to removal of discriminatory clauses that affect particularly the Chinese people from our immigration and naturalization laws.

This discrimination on account of race has from the start been regarded as in violation of religious and American principle and in this day, when the Chinese are our allies, and when their great sacrifices have undoubtedly saved the lives of many Americans, and when the people of America have responded so wholeheartedly to the distinguished Mme. Chiang, continuance of such legislation seems intolerable. On no subject of which I know is the mind of religious people more unanimous than on this.

Will you register this opinion in behalf of the Protestant churches of New York City?

Cordially yours,

ROBERT W. SEARLE, General Secretary.

THE METROPOLITAN CHURCH FEDERATION OF ST. LOUIS,
June 21, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman of the House Immigration Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: The Protestant church folk of Greater St. Louis are more than anxious that the bill which has been introduced dealing with oriental immigration be passed.

We understand the bill includes the repeal of Chinese exclusion, puts Chinese immigration on a quota basis, and permits Chinese residents to become American citizens. This is little enough for us to do.

Cordially yours,

CLARK WALKER CUMMINGS,
Executive Secretary.

WILSHIRE METHODIST CHURCH,
Los Angeles, Calif., June 18, 1943.

Congressman DICKSTEIN,
*Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: I wish to endorse the measure before your committee to remove the restriction against Chinese immigration and citizenship so as to allow the Chinese nationals to come into this country under the quota system.

I urge this action first, because of my admiration and respect for the Chinese people because of their capacity for self-government, their long and honorable history, and the gallant fight which they have made against the tyranny of Japan and for a free world. I urge it strongly as a necessary war measure. I think that such an action on the part of the United States would take one of the strongest weapons out of the arsenal of Japan and it would be equivalent to many armed divisions in China itself in the way of bolstering morale, and indicating the sincerity of our declaration to establish a free world. I urge it strongly in the third place, because the future of America in the post-war period is going to be intimately linked with the destiny of China. I feel it is highly important that we should secure and maintain the friendship of that great country, and the only way that we can do it, in my judgment, is to treat them as equals. I trust, therefore, that the measure referred to above will have the approval of your committee and that favorable action be taken by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

WILLSIE MARTIN.

SEVENTH STREET CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
Richmond, Va., June 19, 1943.

Chairman SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Business and Professional Women's Council of Seventh Street Christian Church, Richmond, Va., respectfully petitions your committee to recommend to the Congress of the United States the abolition of the Chinese Exclusion Act and that the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924 be made to apply to all aliens alike so that all be put upon a quota basis.

We believe that such action by the Congress will materially strengthen the good will among our allies and friends without in any way endangering the well-being of existing American citizens.

On behalf of said council, by vote in regular session June 16, 1943.

Very respectfully yours,

(Miss) LILLIE PEARCE,
President.

C. ALLISON BURNHAM,
By Appointment of the Council.

WISCONSIN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,
Madison, Wis., June 22, 1943.

Hon. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
*Chairman, House Immigration Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: The Wisconsin Council of Churches has frequently had occasion to discuss matters of racial discrimination, and always has opposed it regardless of the form it took.

The social relations division of the council, to which all matters of this nature are referred for study and action, wishes to express its entire approval of

the repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act, and placing all oriental immigration on the same quota basis as all other immigration. We hope your committee will recommend and work for this action now.

We believe this act is one of the contributing causes of our present war with Japan, and feel that it is a severe strain upon our friendly relations with China.

We wish to express also the conviction that the repeal of this act and the removal of this racial slur would go a long way toward preparing for the peace we desire, and toward convincing the peoples of the world of the honesty of our war aims.

Hoping that you will bring this belief to the attention of your committee, we are

Very sincerely yours,

H. T. WALLACE,
Secretary Social Relations Division.

A. G. ADAMS,
Executive Secretary, Wisconsin Council of Churches.

CITIZENS FOR VICTORY,
San Francisco, Calif., June 17, 1943.

Hon. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: Citizens for Victory, Northern California Chapter, at a meeting June 15, unanimously voted to urge favorable action by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on H. R. 1882, the Kennedy bill, providing for repeal of the oriental exclusion laws insofar as they affect the Chinese, and permitting entry of the Chinese into the United States on a quota basis under the present quota regulations.

Similar action has been taken by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, the executive committee of the State Congress of Industrial Organizations' Council, the Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, the Council for Legislative Action, and several other representative bodies.

We urge favorable action by your committee at the earliest possible moment, not only in the interest of justice and fair play to China, but in the interest of cementing friendly cultural and trade relations with that great country across the Pacific. Editorial comment by California papers and other expressions of public opinion indicate that the sentiment of this State is overwhelmingly in favor of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the application of the quota principle to China, which would mean the entry of only 107 Chinese annually.

Sincerely yours,

CHESTER H. ROWELL, *Chairman.*

JUNE 9, 1943.

To: Board of directors, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

From: World trade department, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Subject: Immigration quota for Chinese.

Requested action: Approval of grant of quota for annual entry of 105 Chinese into the United States.

STATEMENT

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has never questioned the policy of rigid restriction or exclusion of oriental aliens. The chamber has, however, questioned the method, and since 1924 has been committed to grant of quota.

Except for entry of students, merchants, and a few other classes, Chinese entry into the United States has been forbidden since 1882.

In 1924 Congress passed an act which reduced annual immigration to 2 percent of the number of foreign residents in 1890. Quota, however, does not apply to immigrants from Canada, Mexico, or the independent countries of Central and South America. During the depression the annual immigration from quota countries was further reduced to 10 percent of the 2 percent. Quota, however, was not granted to aliens ineligible to citizenship—Asiatics.

Were quota granted to Chinese aliens, only 105 would be admitted over and above those now excepted from exclusion: Students, merchants, professionals, and a few other classes.

When the 1924 quota law was passed, with Asiatics debarred from quota, at least three other methods of exclusion were available: (1) By treaty; (2) as regards Japan, a tightening of the gentleman's agreement; (3) by placing China and other Asiatics on a quota basis.

None of these three methods was used, and by qualifying immigration to those eligible to citizenship, offense was given to China and other Asiatic countries. Had restriction by quota been effected, 105 Chinese would have been admitted annually, 185 Japanese, and a minimum of 100 from other Asiatic countries. (Since March 24, 1934, the Philippines have been given an annual quota of 50.)

Our unfortunate method of restriction is being exploited by Japan in its approaches to China. China is conscious of the stigma our nonquota grant has placed upon her nationals. Not only for the war effort, but for the post-war period of reconstruction and trade development, nongrant of quota will be a barrier to best possible United States-China relations.

It is respectfully recommended, therefore, that the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce reaffirm its traditional position in favor of grant of quota, and specifically recommend to Congress that the basic quota of 105 be granted to China.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. L. MONTGOMERY,
Manager, World Trade Department.

Accepted and approved June 10, 1943, by the board of directors of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce thereby placed on record.

COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE (1772-1942),
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, June 20, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Immigration Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Committees of Correspondence, an intercollegiate student organization working for progressive action and the extension of democracy on all fronts, met in a regional conference a few weeks ago.

Among policies we found ourselves in agreement on was that of repealing such measures as the Chinese Exclusion Act, so as to prevent the exclusion of immigrants on the basis of color or race. We heartily urge your support of this measure.

Very truly yours,

JOHN DIEHL, Chairman.

NEW YORK, N. Y., June 17, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
Washington, D. C.:

The woman's division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church in session in New York City and representing one and a half million Methodist women urgently requests your committee to work for the immediate passage of adequate legislation for removing existing barriers to Chinese immigration and naturalization.

Mrs. J. D. BRAGG, President.
Mrs. FRED LAMB, Secretary.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION,
Dayton, Ohio, June 16, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you in behalf of the international institute committee of the Dayton Young Women's Christian Association, a group of women interested in women and girls of nationality background, to express their keen interest in the proposed measure to repeal Chinese exclusion laws, and to put Chinese on a equal footing with others in regard to quota and naturalization.

We have read with interest reports of the hearings on the matter before your committee. We believe that it is time that this insult to a great people, and a valuable ally, be removed. It is certainly contrary to all that we say we believe in, to allow these exclusion laws to stand.

The use that is being made of these laws by our enemies, should be cause of grave concern to every American. Our need for the help and cooperation of China is great, both now, and after the war. The repeal of the exclusion laws will mean nothing in actual practice—but as a demonstration of American sincerity, would be invaluable.

If the exclusion laws are repealed, it must then follow that the Chinese be permitted to become citizens, else the gesture is a hollow one.

Our committee will follow action in this matter, and will trust that a bill to repeal the exclusion laws, to put the Chinese on a quota basis, and to permit them to become American citizens, will be presented to the Congress soon.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) EVELYN C. BASSETT,
International Institute Secretary.

OHIO FEDERATION OF BAPTIST YOUNG PEOPLE,
Granville, June 15, 1943.

Congressman SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: I should like to add mine to the stream of letters which you as chairman of the House committee considering new legislation on oriental immigration must be getting. I am certainly in favor of drastic modification of our present unreasonable oriental exclusion laws. The legislation which I personally would like to see would permit the immigration of orientals from friendly countries on exactly the same basis as immigration is allowed from nonoriental countries. It seems to me that this is the only thing consistent with the American tradition—to say nothing about the Christian implications of the thing.

My congratulations on your efforts in behalf of fairer legislation on this matter, and my best wishes to you in what must be a most difficult task.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR R. BROOKS, President.

THE PLYMOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
Fargo, N. Dak., June 14, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: I understand that you are the chairman of a House committee which is considering legislation relative to repealing our oriental exclusion laws and placing Asiatics under immigration quota regulations.

Such legislation, which would make orientals eligible for citizenship in our Nation, is in my judgment nothing less than simple justice. It is demanded by good morals, Christian ethics, international friendship, and a decent regard for the future of American relations with the peoples on the opposite shore of the Pacific.

Let me urge upon you to do all in your power to frame legislation which will meet this situation adequately and to press for its enactment into law.

Respectfully,

CLARENCE E. PARR.

PRESBYTERY OF CHESTER,
Paoli, Pa., June 16, 1943.

Congressman SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am hereby instructed as newly elected permanent clerk of Chester Presbytery, to submit the following resolution, passed unanimously by the ministers and elder commissioners of 61 Presbyterian Churches meeting at the regular June meeting at the Kennett Square Presbyterian Church, Kennett Square, Pa.

Very truly yours,

JAMES H. BROWN,
The Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church, Parkesburg, Pa.

Inasmuch as the Church of Christ should be concerned about racial justice, and inasmuch as it is flagrantly violated by the oriental exclusion laws;

Inasmuch as Asiatics only are singled out as unfit for American entry and citizenship under the present unjust laws;

Inasmuch as the Chinese, who are our allies and for whom we profess the greatest friendship, are singled out by name and labeled, and thus supremely insulted;

Inasmuch as the repeal of these laws would admit not one single person more than now enters this country annually, namely, no more than 150,000 per year, according to the Immigration Act of 1924, but would simply make this act apply to all aliens;

Inasmuch as the number admitted on the quota basis which governs other immigrants would allow not more than 105 Chinese and not more than 100 from any other Asiatic country;

Inasmuch as no Japanese could enter, any more than could any German or Italian, while we are at war with these countries: Be it

Resolved, That we, the ministers and elder commissioners of 61 Presbyterian Churches in Chester and Delaware Counties, meeting in Kennett Square at the regular June meeting of presbytery do hereby urge the immediate repeal of the oriental exclusion laws.

THE WEST VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION;
Charleston, W. Va., June 22, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As general secretary of the West Virginia Council of Churches and Christian Education, I wish to urge you on behalf of the church leaders in West Virginia to use your full influence in securing passage of legislation looking toward repealing Chinese exclusion, putting Chinese immigration on a quota basis, permitting Chinese residents to become American citizens.

It is our sincere conviction that the people of China have most intelligently and patiently demonstrated that they are full worthy of recognition as world citizens and that it is just and honorable that the citizens of America, through Government channels, officially demonstrate that we believe and recognize the people of China as fellow citizens worthy of membership in a world democracy.

We, therefore, are in full accord with legislation which will remove both from the annals of American history and from the compassionate hearts of the Chinese people present laws which in the light of a world community of nations are undemocratic.

Cordially yours,

Z. B. EDWORTHY, General Secretary.

FISK UNIVERSITY,
Nashville, Tenn., June 8, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I understand that the committee of which you are chairman is considering new legislation relative to the admittance to our country and to citizenship of Asiatics.

I should like to register as strongly as I possibly can my approval of such a measure. Of course, such admittance should be in strict accord with the quota system established by the Immigration Act of 1924 and these provisions should be made to apply to all aliens.

It seems abundantly clear, and even of the extremest urgency that we now begin to abolish our discriminatory practices. If we do not it is altogether likely that soon again the hatred of the world will mount to the explosive point and we shall see another carnal sacrifice of our wealth and life.

I am deeply concerned about this. My own son's death may be involved in the outcome of your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED M. MITCHELL, Ph. D.,
Assistant Professor.

CALVARY METHODIST CHURCH,
San Francisco, Calif., June 7, 1943.

MR. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: Please give your support to the passage of bill H. R. 1882, which calls for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act and for the inclusion of the Chinese on equality with all others in the basic quota law.

It is surely time that we expressed our gratitude to China and the Chinese by providing for this specific relaxation in the Oriental Exclusion Act, which is still the biggest handicap the United Nations face in the political aspects of the Asiatic war. Thank you.

Sincerely,

KENNETH W. ADAMS.

AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY,
WOMAN'S AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY,
New York City, June 11, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Committee on Immigration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you as one vitally concerned about the proposed modification of the Oriental Exclusion Act to admit nationals of all cobelligerent or friendly countries. I regard this as of strategic importance at the present time, particularly as it affects the nationals of our ally China, and also because of the wholesome effect such modification is bound to have on all orientals. The following are further reasons why I hope that this important action will be taken:

1. Because I believe discrimination based on color is inconsistent with the Christian viewpoint and with the high ideals of justice upon which our Nation was founded.

2. Because world-wide fear of discrimination based on race and color may imperil every major goal for which our Nation now struggles.

3. Because the repeal of the Exclusion Act would remove from the hands of our enemies one of their most powerful propaganda arguments against us.

4. Because such modification of the Exclusion Act will make unmistakably clear our firm faith in democracy and the "four freedoms" both at home and abroad.

5. Because the application of the quota principle would admit relatively few and not increase the total aliens admissible during any one year, and thus the American standard of living would be adequately protected.

Very truly yours,

MARLIN D. FARNUM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1943.

Congressman SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having lived in China and been in business there since 1923, I should like to express my views relative to the pending discussions on the repeal of the Exclusion Act as it pertains to the Chinese people.

Those of us who have had the opportunity of living with the Chinese over an extended period of time have become very fond of them as a race and as a people, and have learned to evaluate their good as well as their bad qualities. I think as a whole we find that they have many qualities of character from which our own people could materially benefit. If one should evaluate those qualities which are not of the best, their score, as compared with ours, would undoubtedly not be too much out of line.

The Chinese people are proud and sensitive. In dealing with them we should always keep in mind that as a highly civilized race their sensibilities should be given most serious consideration, and although we can drive hard bargains with them and still remain good friends, to give them "face" and to treat them as respectable human beings like to be treated, is of the utmost importance.

During the century in which we are now living, it is reasonable to expect that China will become the balance of power in the Pacific. Our relationships and good influence in the China sphere will be of the utmost importance to the security

as well as the economy of our country. That relationship which can do the most good for China and for the United States must be guided and carefully watched, so that we as a nation can prosper in conjunction with the development and prosperity of the future China.

As a move in the direction of developing and maintaining such a relationship, I see no better move at the present time than the abolition of the present exclusion act. For China to be put in the same category relative to immigration as other countries would not involve anything of consequence as far as the annual quota is concerned, and quite conceivably would be of material assistance in developing our diplomatic and trade relationships with China. It would be a gesture toward China which would prove to the Chinese people that we looked upon them as a race of people entitled to the same consideration as any European race. The "face" thus given to the Chinese people would have an immediate reaction of good will which can only have beneficial effects to our country in our future relationships with China.

Very truly yours,

U. S. HARKSON.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Binghamton, N. Y., June 9, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: May I express to you my hope that through your committee there may be worked out a proper bill for the admission of the peoples of Asia to our country upon the basis of the Immigration Act of 1924? I understand that if China were placed upon the quota basis of this act, the annual number of Chinese eligible to entrance would not be over 106, and from the other nations, no one of them could send more than 100.

It seems to me imperative that our professed stand for democracy against the German teachings of a superior race should be implemented by this revision of our immigration practice. The revelation to America, which China has made during its heroic defense of the last 6 years and the impression which Madame Chiang Kai-shek has made in recent months, should produce overwhelming support for such measures. The blatant demagogic appeals from certain Congressmen on the Pacific slope and, unfortunately, also from the legion and the American Federation of Labor should not overbalance the deep feeling of the great mass of the people.

Very respectfully yours,

MURRAY SHIPLEY HOWLAND.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, June 3, 1943.

Representative SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DICKSTEIN: I am glad to read that you are favorable to legislation aimed at putting our immigration laws on a nondiscriminatory basis. Without opening our Nation to an influx of foreign laborers we need to remove the stigma which our non-Caucasian allies in the Orient feel our existing laws place upon them.

There are vocal individuals and organizations on the west coast who might give the impression that most westerners would rather take a chance of losing China as an ally than put Chinese on a quota basis. I don't believe this is the case at all. Some people are hopelessly prejudiced. But the majority of citizens are O. K. out here.

The prevalence of race discrimination within our Nation affords Hitler his best chance of staving off defeat. Most of those who are dominated by racial intolerance are not, I believe, consciously playing Hitler's game. But those who suffer from the malady of race prejudice will do this Nation irreparable harm unless we keep in mind that they are actually greatly in the minority and that they should not be permitted to dictate our national policies. I hope that Congress will not fail to remove racial discrimination from our immigration policies.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY L. KINGMAN.

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH,
San Francisco, June 3, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As one who is vitally interested in the proposed action of H. R. 1882, I am writing to urge as strongly as I can the adoption of this measure.

For the past 14 years I have been in the bay region and I am well aware of the common assumption on the part of those who live in the eastern part of the country as to the attitude of the west coast.

May I say that there is an increasing number of more thoughtful people out here who feel that the continuance of our exclusion of the Chinese is a first-class political weapon in the hands of the Axis and is a denial of our professed belief in the cause of China. There would seem to be a strange contradiction between the enthusiastic reception given Mme. Chiang on the west coast and the attitude which would deny to her people privileges of American citizenship.

I hope your committee will see fit to report favorably on this measure.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN C. LEFFLER.

PUBLIC WELFARE EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION,
San Francisco, Calif., June 4, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, House Immigration and Naturalization Committee,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: The San Francisco Public Welfare Employees' Association, representing 161 members, urgently requests your support of bill H. R. 1882, otherwise known as the Martin-Kennedy bill, which repeals the Chinese Exclusion Act, and grants rights of naturalization to the Chinese.

We firmly believe that this is the opportune time to put into action some of the very principles for which we now are fighting, and to place our gallant Chinese allies on an equality with all other people.

California was one of the prime influences in having such exclusion acts passed, and now, since we have lived with the Chinese so long and have gained intimate knowledge of their character, we know they would make good citizens and want to rectify this injustice.

Sincerely yours,

(MRS.) FRANCES LARSON,
President, Public Welfare Employees' Association.

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., June 2, 1943.

Congressman DICKSTEIN,
Washington, D. C.:

At a recent meeting of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of First Methodist Church, Hot Springs National Park, Ark., it was voted to send a message to you urging admission of the Chinese people to our country.

This is an organization of 300 members and they are anxious for the Chinese to be admitted to the United States on equal terms with all other immigrants. I was asked to write to you and express gratitude for what you are doing on this work.

Please accept our appreciation and endorsement for your splendid work.

Yours truly,

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE,
MRS. JAMES R. CAMPBELL.

CITIZENS FOR VICTORY,
Palo Alto, Calif., June 4, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DICKSTEIN: The Palo Alto unit of Citizens for Victory has instructed me to inform you that our organization strongly favors the repeal of the laws prohibiting the immigration and naturalization of Chinese.

We urge the Committee on Immigration to approve an appropriate bill and send it to the House. Such a bill should repeal (1) the prohibition of naturalization of Chinese; (2) the specific exclusion of Chinese; and (3) the exclusion of Chinese under the barred-zone provision. Repeal of exclusion laws should be sufficiently complete that Chinese may actually come to the United States when transportation permits. Repeal of one group of exclusion laws leaving other legal barriers against the Chinese would be a meaningless gesture.

May we ask you to bring our views to the attention of your committee?

Yours sincerely,

VICTOR E. HALL,
Chairman, Committee on Repeal of Chinese Exclusion Laws.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS,
Chicago, Ill., June 11, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: I hope you will do all in your power to see that a bill is passed putting all orientals on a quota basis, exactly as are Europeans. Our glorious allies—the Chinese—have proved that skin color, or whether you live in Asia or America, does not determine your character.

We can win the war in this sector at once. I count on you to help.

Sincerely,

JAMES M. YARD.

RESOLUTION ON THE MODIFICATION OF THE ORIENTAL EXCLUSION ACT OF 1924

The board of managers of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, with extensive interests in the Orient and representing hundreds of thousands of American church members, urge immediate modification of the Oriental Exclusion Act to admit nationals of all cobelligerent or friendly countries, otherwise admissible, for the following reasons:

1. Because we believe discrimination based on color is inconsistent with the Christian viewpoint and with the high ideals of justice upon which our Nation was founded.

2. Because world-wide fear of discrimination based on race and color may imperil every major goal for which our Nation now struggles.

3. Because the repeal of the Exclusion Act would remove from the hands of our enemies one of their most powerful propaganda arguments against us.

4. Because such modification of the Exclusion Act will make unmistakably clear our firm faith in democracy and the "four freedoms," both at home and abroad.

5. Because the application of the quota principle would admit relatively few and not increase the total aliens admissible during any 1 year, and thus the American standard of living would be adequately protected.

It is the conviction of the boards of managers of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society that the offer of justice to only a part of the Orient would be viewed with suspicion as merely a wartime expediency and the boards therefore urge that at the close of the war the quota provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924 should apply to all aliens.

GENERAL SYNOD OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA,
Buck Hill Falls, Pa., June 15, 1943.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, at its annual session at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., June 3-8, 1943 adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas we believe that legislation designed to regulate immigration on the basis of race does violence to our Christian faith in the unity of mankind and the worth of human personality; be it

"Resolved, That we urge upon the Congress of the United States of America at this time to change our immigration laws so as to permit citizens of cobelligerent or friendly countries, otherwise admissible, to enter the United States under the quota system and to become citizens of our country: be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the House and Senate committees and be given to the press."

Cordially yours,

J. E. HOFFMAN, *Stated Clerk.*

NEWPORT, R. I., May 26, 1942.

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Strongly urge repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act as most essential for not only future peace but as a vital war measure. Our main attack on Japan must come from Chinese mainland and China must be encouraged in every way possible to continue war until we can give real military assistance. One of the most effective methods of sustaining Chinese morale would be the repeal of this act not only as a simple matter of justice but as a recognition of the heroic resistance of China for 6 years against our Pacific enemy.

H. E. YARNELL,
Admiral, United States Navy, Retired.

(Statements filed in opposition to bills:)

REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., June 7, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Regular Veterans Association is opposed to the enactment of H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2309.

It is believed that both bills contemplate post-war legislation and that action upon them should be deferred until after the war.

The Regular Veterans Association has consistently opposed unessential immigration. We recall only too well, Mr. Chairman, that many of these immigrants became public charges during the depression and as a consequence were riding the relief rolls. For many years, America has faced an acute employment problem; many jobs that could have been filled by native-born Americans were filled by immigrants and in many cases by aliens, and it is obvious that if we are to solve our employment problems, that it is essential that our labor market be drastically restricted and regulated to our fundamental economic structure.

We have no quarrel with our allies, the Chinese, nor do we believe that failure to enact these bills are, as some claim, going to result in that Nation's withdrawal from the war and, further, it is not believed that this legislation, if enacted, would in any way aid the war effort.

That our immigration policies and treatment of aliens in the past is attested to by the fact that they have been permitted to enter our country and to organize themselves into subversive and disloyal groups.

I do not recall that the Chinese have done so, but the principle is the same and we must set a precedent at this time. Because we sympathize with the Chinese, it does not necessarily follow that they are in a class by themselves as concerns citizenship. Our police have had to contend with a number of tong wars and such wars are directly traceable to the fact that an uneducated type of Chinese immigrant was admitted who could not, in view of their ancient tradition, become reconciled to the fact that it was wrong to kill one another in violation of our laws.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Respectfully,

JACK KYLE, *National Commander.*

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., May 3, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: This letter has reference to H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, each entitled "A bill to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws," introduced by you on April 7, 1943, and referred for consideration to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of which you are the chairman.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States which, with its auxiliaries, consists of approximately 350,000 members, objects strenuously to both bills as being extremely undesirable, dangerous to the internal welfare of our country, and thoroughly un-American in principle without respect to their source.

To repeal the Chinese exclusion laws embraced in the statutes and treaty cited, would constitute the repudiation of a long and well-established national policy which has prevented added racial problems from being thrust upon us, and which we believe must be retained without question. We have so far failed in solving one serious racial problem in the United States; certainly, it would be folly to burden the Nation with another of this nature at any time. The failure of the Federal Government to adopt promptly in the first place the policy of Chinese exclusion and enforce it effectively, was instrumental in the racial conflict which all but disgraced our country over a period of time.

Should these bills be enacted, the next step will no doubt be attempted—the introduction of legislation to amend the Immigration Act of 1924, and place Chinese immigration on a quota basis. Subversive elements in this country have long attempted to wreck our immigration laws. Such legislation would aid and abet their efforts, and, in our opinion, has no reasonable foundation.

It is requested that the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization give H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429 consideration in the unfavorable light they deserve in looking to the welfare of our country. We believe that the relationship of the United States and China as allies in armed conflict against a common enemy, should have no bearing whatsoever in the consideration of legislation of this nature.

It is further requested that this communication be made a part of the record of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in its consideration of H. R. 2428 and H. R. 2429, as the studied opinion and the urgent recommendation of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

VICTOR E. DEVEREAUX, Director.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., June 4, 1943.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKSTEIN: This is in reference to my letter to you dated May 3, and to our telephone conversation this afternoon regarding the stand of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on proposed legislation to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws, and to place China on a quota basis for purposes of immigration to the United States.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, under the policies mandated by its national encampment, is opposed at this time to any legislation whatsoever which will repeal or result in the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws or which will place China on a quota basis for the immigration of her subjects to the United States. The basis for our opposition is both economic and racial, and to prevent the undermining of our immigration and naturalization laws which must result from such legislation.

It is requested that this letter, my letter to you of May 3, and any testimony which has been presented to your committee by representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in person, be included in the printed report and proceedings of the committee.

In presenting our opposition to the proposed legislation, we do not forget the bravery and valor of our Chinese allies nor the magnificent contribution which China has made and is making to the war effort of the United Nations. However, we cannot agree that the reasons advanced for this legislation are logical, or that

the legislation is necessary to the continuation of the military alliance of China and the United Nations.

The proposed legislation is a gratuitous gesture, for it is neither timely nor do the circumstances in any way justify it. There is no logical reason for its introduction in the first place unless, possibly, it was felt that such legislation could be forced at a time like this through the sentiment held by one military ally for another. There are two entirely different principles involved in Chinese immigration and in Chinese alliance to the United Nations.

This legislation will in no way aid the war effort of the United Nations. It can make no difference at all in the lend-lease supplies which can be sent to China nor in our ability to increase them. There is no good reason why, at this particular time, our declining to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws should create a rift in the friendship of China and the United States. Certainly, no one will believe that unless this legislation is enacted China will withdraw from military alliance with the United Nations. No stretching of the imagination could picture China biting off her nose to spite her face. Yet such a suggestion has been advanced.

There is no point in this legislation. It has nothing to do with the war effort of our country or the United Nations. And as an immigration measure it is untimely and dangerous. It is essentially post-war legislation which should not be considered by the Congress until the United Nations have brought about peace and our men in the armed forces of the United States return from the battle fronts to take their places as citizens. They will want to have something to say about national policies and no doubt they will say it in no uncertain terms.

There is no change in the attitude of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States toward this legislation. We are opposed to it without qualification.

Very sincerely yours,

VICTOR E. DEVEREAUX.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND WOMEN

Whereas bills H. R. 2428 and 2429, each entitled "A bill to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws"; and

Whereas the principal difference the bills embody in section 2 of H. R. 2428, a provision that "the treaty between the United States and China concerning immigration, concluded November 17, 1880," shall be abrogated; and

Whereas if these bills are passed it will allow the Immigration Act of 1924 to be amended to put Chinese immigration on a quota basis; and

Whereas such a measure would constitute a repudiation of a long and well-established policy of oriental exclusion which was adopted after race conflicts and riots had proved a danger and disgrace to the country for a long period of time: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Society of New England Women protests against bills H. R. 2428 and 2429 and to all other bills which may be presented which would tend to change present existing laws of immigration and naturalization for the duration of the war.

(Communications in opposition to H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2309:)

Elsie Fuller, recording secretary, Pride of Monmouth Council, No. 112, Daughters of the American Revolution, Union Beach, N. J.

George E. Sullivan, Washington, D. C.

The Downtown Civic District, San Francisco School Teachers, San Francisco Citizens League, San Francisco, Calif.

Perry F. Ramey, State council secretary, Order of Independent Americans, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.

Patrick A. Corkin, Santa Ana, Calif.

John A. Lyon, New York City.

Comelia B. Rogers, New York City.

Edward R. Lewis, Winnetka, Ill.

Mrs. Leona Parker, secretary, Star of Linden Council, No. 97, Daughters of American Revolution, Linden, N. J.

Mrs. Edythe A. Richards, East Rutherford, N. J.

Clarence M. Hunt, managing editor, the Grizzly Bear, Los Angeles, Calif.

O. E. Stewart, business agent, Carpenters Local 1371, Gadsden, Ala.

Mrs. Ethel M. Schunk, recording secretary, Star of Nutley Council, No. 119, Daughter of American Revolution, Nutley, N. J.

Mrs. Jennie L. More, State council secretary, Daughters of the American Revolution, State of New Jersey.
 L. A. Parks, Order Fraternal Americans, Junior Order United American Mechanics, Richmond, Va.
 J. W. Buzzell, secretary-treasurer, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Ethel Vandervort, Star of Caldwell Council, No. 104, Daughters of the American Revolution, East Orange, N. J.
 J. C. Faulkner, Moscow, Idaho.
 C. R. Wilmer, National Sociological League, Bronx, N. Y.
 Mrs. H. E. Francisco, Caldwell, N. J.
 Mrs. George Beavers, Syosset, Long Island, N. Y.
 Mrs. E. T. Carstarphen, chairman, National Society of New England Women.
 Alice D. Butterfield, National Society of New England Women.
 Susan Ford, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Frank H. Johnson, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Joseph Wilson, Ozone Park, Long Island, N. Y.
 Joseph Campagna, New York City.
 John Basile, New York City.
 Alfonso Albero, Bronx, N. Y.
 Bernard Wohlfert, Jr., Astoria, Long Island, N. Y.
 John La Falce, East Elmhurst, N. Y.
 Joseph Resonie, New York City.
 Patrick Mangan, New York City.
 A. Hahn, Edgewater, N. J.
 Mrs. Ruth E. Steward, secretary, National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, State of New York.
 Mrs. Goodin P. Osthaus, acting State secretary, Sons and Daughters of Liberty, Washington, D. C.
 Paul H. Robertson, O. M. Powers, Jr., H. C. Halloway, Davie Council 52, Junior Order United American Mechanics, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 W. H. Murry, secretary, Etowah Council 36, Junior Order United American Mechanics, Gadsden, Ala.
 E. F. Rosenkrans, chairman, State legislative committee, Junior Order United American Mechanics, Chicago, Ill.
 H. A. Morgan, president et al., Luzerne Co., executive committee, Junior Order United American Mechanics.
 Victor E. Devereaux, director, department of Americanism, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. O. H. Barnett, Madison, N. J.
 Charles O. Brittani, secretary, Ramona Parlor, Native Sons of the Golden West, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Florence M. Spofford, corresponding secretary general, National Society of New England Women, Chicago, Ill.
 Maude I. Rathbun, recording secretary, Good Intent Council, No. 19, Daughters of the American Revolution, Newark, N. J.
 Wilson B. Roberts, New Haven, Conn.
 Jack Kyle, national commander, Regular Veterans Association, Washington, D. C.
 F. H. Smith, War Veterans Association of America Headquarters, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 A. P. Sautter, Petaluma, Calif.
 Walter Gisler, recording secretary, Native Sons of the Golden West, Santa Ana, Calif.
 Compton I. White, House of Representatives, Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.
 H. J. McClatchy, secretary, California Joint Immigration Committee, San Francisco, Calif.
 Elbert S. Woosley, vice president, the Louisville Trust Co., Louisville, Ky.
 Mrs. N. Bennett, Union, N. J.
 W. E. Riker, the World's Perfect Government, Holy City, Calif.
 Victor E. Devereaux, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Washington 5, D. C.
 James L. Wilmeth, national secretary, National Council, Philadelphia, Pa.
 (Communications in support of H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2309:)
 Elam J. Anderson, president, the University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif.
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 Dolores Bingham, Saugatuck, Mich.

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 Jule Ayers, minister First Presbyterian Church, Ossining, N. Y.
 Mary J. Borso, Kalamazoo, Mich.
 Mrs. George Edward Little, Kalamazoo, Mich.
 George Allen Odgers, Multnomah College, Portland, Oreg.
 Richard Quev, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. Ralph C. McAfee, pastor, the Church of the Covenant, Erie, Pa.
 Juliette Mather, Young People's secretary, Woman's Missionary Union, Birmingham, Ala.
 Rev. Kenneth L. Maxwell, pastor, First Baptist Church, Granville, Ohio.
 Roberta Ma, New York City.
 Layle Lane, program committee, March on Washington Movement, New York city.
 Ursula Kraft, Jackson Heights, N. Y.
 Edgar M. Arnold, New York City.
 Prof. Lewis Mayers, College of the City of New York.
 Mrs. W. V. Mueller, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 R. G. Landis, Soft-Lite Lens Co., Inc., New York City.
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 Rev. Eliot White, Episcopal Church, New York City.
 American Defense Harvard Group Steering Committee, Cambridge, Mass.
 Lyman Beecher Stowe, New York City.
 Morris Milgram, national secretary, Workers Defense League, New York City.
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 The United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Ind.
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 Miss Anna M. Dumbur, Garden City, N. Y.
 Marian V. Crites, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Barbara D. Carsen, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Monroe Sweetland, national director, National Congress of Industrial Organizations Committee for American and Allied War Relief, Washington, D. C.
 The Right Reverend Walter H. Gray, suffragan bishop, diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.
 Rev. Timothy A. Cramer, stated clerk and treasurer, the Classis of Paramus, Midland Park, N. J.
 Rev. Roswell P. Barnes, associate general secretary, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York City.
 Rev. John Lyon Caughey, the Presbyterian Church, Glens Falls, N. Y.
 La Donna Bogardus, assistant to minister, First Methodist Church, Lorain, Ohio.
 Rev. William H. Fulton, the First Presbyterian Church, Rockford, Ill.
 Rev. Forrest L. Knapp, general secretary, World's Sunday School Association, New York City (petition, 55 signatures).
 Rev. Clyde R. Wendell, Salem Evangelical Church, Toledo, Ohio.
 Rev. Brainard Brown, Community Baptist Church, Norwalk, Conn.
 Rev. Josef A. Barton, Evangelical Czech Brethren Church, Bellville, Tex.
 Rev. Moses C. Crouse, pastor, Advent Christian Church, Kansas City, Kans.
 Rev. James C. Mead, First Congregational Church, Pontiac, Mich.
 Rev. George L. Collins, Baptist University pastorate, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Rev. Leslie E. Simon, Asbury Methodist Church, Solvay, N. Y.
 Rev. Archibald B. Moore, resident chaplain, Mother House, Gibsonsia, Pa.
 Rev. S. B. Moss, the Methodist Church, Avondale, N. C.
 Rev. F. Theodore Miner, Stottville Methodist Church, Hudson, ———.
 Rev. Dodds B. Bunch, the First Methodist Church, Arcata, Calif.
 Rev. C. W. Christman, Jr., Valhalla, N. Y.
 Rev. Lee Hampton Ball, the Methodist Church, Lake Mahopac, N. Y.
 Rev. F. M. Potter, Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, New York City.
 Rev. C. L. Moore, Ford Memorial Methodist Church, Ford City, Pa.
 Rev. Erdis Kollar, the Methodist Church, Bethesda, Ohio.
 Rev. George V. Bulin, St. John's Lutheran Church, Bellmore, N. Y.
 Rev. Cornelius E. Walker, evangelist, Frazee, Minn.

Rev. Perry F. Schrock, superintendent, Congregational Conference of Oregon, Portland, Oreg.
 Rev. David B. Howe, the Hill Memorial Baptist Church, Allston, Mass.
 Rev. Robert W. Swick, First Methodist Church, Fort Madison, Iowa.
 Leland S. Brubaker, secretary, General Mission Board, Elgin, Ill.
 Rev. Frank W. Thompson, Phillips Memorial Baptist Church, Cranston, R. I.
 Rev. B. C. Schmidt, Charlotte, Tex.
 Helen Prescott, secretary to the dean, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.
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 Nathaniel Singer, New York City.
 Kingsland Camp, New York City.
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 Pierre Jay, New York City.
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 Irene Robinson, Pasadena, Calif.
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 Laura M. McKeen, executive secretary, the International Institute for Service to Immigrants and New Americans, San Francisco, Calif.
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 Elizabeth Parnham Brush, Rockford, Ill.
 Jean Wunderlich, Jamaica, N. Y.
 A. Wolper, Chelsea, Mass.
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 E. B. Walker, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Margaret R. Schaffler, Oberlin, Ohio.
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 Mary S. McDowell, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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 Samuel Cabot, Boston, Mass.
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 Mildred E. Taylor and Beulah S. Fuller, Minneapolis, Minn.
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 Bertha Balderston, Coloma, Md.
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 Raymond Leepson, New York City.
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 Blanche G. Erdman, New York City.
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 Samuel Williston, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
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 H. D. Hazeltine, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
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 Constance Churchyard, Cambridge, Mass.
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 F. J. Waldrop, Weston, W. Va.
 Margaret S. Hipps, Asheville, N. C.
 Paul R. Carr, Warwick, N. Y.
 Florentino Soriano, Chicago, Ill.
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 Arthur A. McBride, Mansfield, Ohio.
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 Rev. Robert E. Airhart, Park Avenue United Brethren Church, Coshocton, Ohio.
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 Jay Elwood Lynn, Claremont, Calif.
 Robert J. Caldwell, San Diego, Calif.
 Dr. Allan G. Brailey, Boston, Mass.
 Ida L. Waite, Santa Barbara, Calif.
 Rev. Harold L. Lunger, Austin Boulevard Christian Church, Oak Park, Ill.
 Eleanor Hughes Ragsdale, Fullerton, Calif.
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 Rev. Charles W. Brashares, First Methodist Church, Ann Arbor, Mich.
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 Silas Blake Axtell, New York City.
 Belle B. Pushed, New York City.
 Leona M. Rose, San Perlita, Tex.
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 Francis Palombo, Cambridge, Mass.
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 Elsie Kelso, Arlington, Mass.
 John B. Morrice, Cambridge, Mass.
 Bernice M. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.
 W. M. Willand, Chicago, Ill.
 Howard P. Barry, New York City.
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 Mrs. W. W. Bartlett, Westorville, Ohio.
 Rev. Calvin H. Reber, Jr., Second United Brethren Church, Palmyra, Pa.
 Mrs. John F. Moors, Brookline, Mass.
 Elizabeth A. Labaree, Washington, D. C.
 Rev. Paul G. Hayes, McCabe Methodist Church, Bismarck, N. Dak.
 Rev. Seth N. Genung, the First Presbyterian Church, Troy, N. Y.
 Alton L. Hall, Huntington Beach, Calif.
 Ruth Hanna, Young Women's Christian Association, Ardmore, Okla.
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 Mrs. W. B. Kerr, Ogden, Wash.
 James Sterenberg, visiting professor of classics, Carthage College, Carthage, Ill.
 Anna M. Barnard, department of foreign languages, Central Michigan College,
 Mount Pleasant, Mich.
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 Mrs. Floyd D. Shafer, Altoona, Pa.
 Blanche E. Atkins, St. Cloud, Minn.
 Rev. J. Maxwell Chamberlin, Southwest Community Church, Los Angeles,
 Calif.
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 Claude N. Settles, associate professor of sociology, San Jose State College,
 San Jose, Calif.
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 Laura M. McKeen, International Institute, San Francisco, Calif.
 Matilda K. Wendell, San Francisco, Calif.

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 Calif.
 Alicelu Freeman, San Jose, Calif.
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 Mary A. Dingman, New York City.
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 Mrs. N. Abadee, San Francisco, Calif.
 Henry C. Fenn, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. Sumner Walters, Trinity Church, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. Gilbert B. Christian, Northern California Baptist Convention, San
 Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. L. H. Blank, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 C. Telford Erickson, Hartford, Conn.
 I. B. Nemo, Washington, D. C.
 Mary F. Hole, Fannie E. Beal, Ypsilanti, Mich.
 Curtis W. Smith, Farmington, Conn.
 William Mesevich, president, Cafeteria Employees Union, American Federation
 of Labor, New York City.
 Lorena Boyd Mason, general secretary, Young Women's Christian Association,
 Trenton, N. J.
 Roberta Newell, New York City.
 Arthur Wald, dean, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.
 Mrs. E. L. Van Buskirk, Lodi, Calif.
 Isabel Gabriel, West New York, N. J.
 Florence G. Nelson, Altadena, Calif.
 Byron L. Johnson, Madison, Wis.
 Rev. Paul L. Hall, First Presbyterian Church, Newman, Calif.
 George F. Sisler, the First National Bank of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
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 Alameda County, Oakland, Calif.
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 Scranton, Pa.
 Board of Managers, American Bible Society, New York City.
 Rev. J. L. Peringer, Congregational Church, Dayton, Wash.
 Mrs. Hester J. Miller, Mrs. Edith M. Steinmetz, Seattle, Wash.
 Dr. N. Astrup Larsen, president, Iowa District of the Norwegian Lutheran
 Church of America, Decorah, Iowa.
 Rev. W. Moreton Owen, Bunker Hill Congregational Church, Waterbury,
 Conn.
 Rev. Chester M. Clark, Congregational minister, Kirkland, Wash.
 Elizabeth Griffin, Pasadena, Calif.
 Mrs. H. A. Haven, Pleasantville, N. J.
 Rev. John Sommerlatte, Lakewood, Ohio.
 Mrs. Thomas Macaelrey, St. Paul, Minn.
 Julia D. Ingersoll, professor of modern languages, Rockford College, Rockford,
 Ill.
 Rev. Robert C. Whitehead, Mount Vernon Heights Congregational Church,
 Mount Vernon, N. Y.
 H. V. Rominger, Underwood, Wash. (petition signed by students of Bible Class
 of the Methodist Church of White Salmon, Wash.).
 Louise Brain, San Jose, Calif.
 Mary Ellen Emig, San Jose, Calif.
 W. Olmstead, San Jose, Calif.
 Walter Whiteley Hubbard, New York City.
 G. Osgood Andrews, New York City.
 Dr. David Vaughan, Graduate School, department of social ethics, Boston
 University, Boston, Mass.
 Hon. Lester Petrie, mayor of Honolulu.
 Admiral H. E. Yarnell, United States Navy, retired.
 David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
 American Federation of Labor, New York City.
 William Mesevich, president, and Joseph Fox, secretary-treasurer, Cafeteria
 Employees Union, Local 302, New York City.

U. S. Harkson, director and manager, Henningsen Produce Co., Washington, D. C.
 Rev. Paul J. Gilbert, First Presbyterian Church, Midland, Pa.
 Marlin D. Farnum, candidate secretary, American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, New York City.
 Rev. Elmer A. Love, First Baptist Church, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
 Florence Knowlton, Portland, Oreg.
 C. C. McCown, Berkeley, Calif.
 Clara Brown, San Francisco, Calif.
 Sophie Hardy, San Francisco, Calif.
 Marion L. Field, department of public health, San Francisco, Calif.
 Wallace M. Taylor, principal, Francisco Junior High School, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. Kenneth W. Adams, Calvary Methodist Church, San Francisco, Calif.
 Helen Geltz, San Francisco, Calif.
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 Hansel Harter, San Francisco, Calif.
 William Van Dyken, Fergus Falls, Minn.
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 Jane P. Williams, Howe, Ind.
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 Mrs. Faith W. Whitney, New Haven, Conn.
 Rev. F. W. Heinly, missionary board of the Church of God, Anderson, Ind.
 Frank Garrigues, Jr., St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager, Dressmakers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America, New York City.
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 Christopher R. Eliot, Cambridge, Mass.
 Dorothy M. Callecod, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mabel Cochran, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. James M. Pickens, Chevy Chase, Md.
 Mrs. M. Ford, Oakland, Calif.
 Robert Hoppock, Manhasset, N. Y.
 H. C. Washburn, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Dr. Wilfred M. Mitchell, assistant professor, department of philosophy and religion, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Rev. John Barclay, Central Christian Church, Austin, Tex.
 Rev. William H. Vastine, the Methodist Church in Hampton Bays, Hampton Bays, N. Y.
 Helen Bowen, San Francisco, Calif.
 Marjorie N. Waters, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Bertha McIntyre, Oakland, Calif.
 Women's Society of Christian Service of Euclid Method Church (11 signatures)
 St. Petersburg, Fla.
 North Hill United Presbyterian Missionary Society (14 signatures) Akron, Ohio.
 Social Studies Class, Lansdowne School District (22 signatures) Lansdowne, Pa.
 Edwin Phelps, Wilmette, Ill.
 Hyde Park Baptist Church, nine members of discussion group, Chicago, Ill.
 J. Della, Evalyn and Bess C. Bush; Louella Bush and Thomas Earle Jones, Wilksburg, Pa.
 Albert N. Benson, principal, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Dave Orser, Waltham, Mich.
 A. McKie Donnan, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. Laird W. Snell, Westfield, N. Y.
 Mrs. M. W. Stukey, Yankton, S. D.
 Rev. John W. Barnett, Salem, Mass.
 Grace E. Pfaffenhangar, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Miss M. G. Parker, Colorado Springs, Colo.
 Clifton Mason, New York, City.
 Mrs. Edward C. Bixler, New Windsor, Md.
 V. Sherratt, Philadelphia, Pa.
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 M. E. Kitzel, Boulder, Colo.
 Mr. and Mrs. George R. Shipman, St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Irene C. Painton, San Francisco, Calif.

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 Katherine W. and C. P. Garman, Denver, Colo.
 John W. Zunkel, Bellwood, Ill.
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 Mrs. Charles Lyttle, corresponding secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Chicago, Ill.
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 Alice James, Berkeley, Calif.
 Rev. Wilbur S. Deming, the First Congregational Church, Washington, Conn.
 Mrs. Clarence Lohman, Houston, Tex.
 Matthew Trachinsky, New York City.
 Meadville Theological School, signatures of nine students, Chicago, Ill.
 Sadie F. Govier, San Jose, Calif.
 Lorna Logan, director, Presbyterian Mission Home, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Rose Scott, Seattle, Wash.
 Audra Cantero, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Victor E. Hall, chairman, Citizens for Victory, Palo Alto, Calif.
 Margaret Gallagher, Oakland, Calif.
 Elizabeth Marcus, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Theorita Steffen, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Dorothy Cupit, corresponding secretary, Vallejo Committee on Interracial Affairs, Vallejo, Calif.
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 May Devney, San Francisco, Calif.
 Josephine Lovejoy, San Francisco, Calif.
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 Julian Arnold, chairman, Council of Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. Constance L. Schuster, San Francisco, Calif.
 Rev. John Compton Leffler, St. Luke's Church, San Francisco, Calif.
 Harry L. Kingman, general secretary, Young men's Christian Association of California, Berkeley, Calif.
 Freda M. Church, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Mary K. Wilson, Oakland, Calif.
 Stella Momasberger, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Jean Watts, San Jose, Calif.
 Mrs. Lowell Langstroth, San Francisco, Calif.
 Elizabeth K. Owen, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mary E. and Albert M. Wright, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
 O. C. Birdwell, Strong, Ark.
 Marie Brethont, Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. Sylvia L. Gee, school secretary, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 L. E. Eakin, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 W. B. Dyson, Oakland, Calif.
 Melvin A. and Viola L. Carson, San Pedro, Calif.
 Juliet Green, Los Angeles, Calif.
 M. P. McCouch, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ethel K. Millar, superintendent of Christian Social Relations, Methodists Womens Society of Christian Service, Conway, Ark.
 Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Thomas, Flushing, N. Y.
 Rev. Foster M. Bittinger, Westernport, Md.
 Benjamin F. Castle, president, Milk Industry Foundation, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. Ida E. Haines and Mrs. Vera H. Flack, Comfort, Tex.
 Mrs. Franklin Webb, Santa Barbara, Calif.
 Gertrude L. Corbett, Trenton, N. J.
 Mrs. Avetta Danford, San Francisco, Calif.
 Louise Goodlos, Knoxville, Tenn.
 David F. Selvin, executive secretary, Bay Area Council, San Francisco, Calif.
 Charles Sweet, editor the Pacific Cable, Seattle, Wash.

Grace Patterson, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Henry W. Holmes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Rev. Browne Barr, Central Congregational Church, Manchester, Conn.
 Elsie and James H. Mowe, Denver, Colo.
 Rev. C. E. Riddington, Community Church, Dove Creek, Colo.
 Marion Brinley, Southborough, Mass.
 Edith A. West, West Roxbury, Mass.
 Edith Lovejoy Pierce, Chicago, Ill.
 O. E. Gibson, Westmont, Ill.
 Elizabeth Page, Sierra Madre, Calif.
 Mrs. Harriet D. McCown, Berkeley, Calif.
 James M. Yard, director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Chicago, Ill.

J. Ruskin Howe, president, Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio.
 Community Class of the Claremont Church, Claremont, Calif.
 Miss Maud McElroy, Chairman Public Affairs Committee, Young Women's Christian Association, Ottumwa, Iowa.
 Edith Newtin, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Brown, Faribault, Minn.
 M. L. Pilling, Chevy Chase, Md.
 Mrs. O. F. Reedy, Denver, Colo.
 Ruth Gillard, department of economics and sociology, Mills College, Oakland, Calif.

Mary S. McFaggart, San Francisco, Calif.
 Miss Winifred Spaulding, Pasadena, Calif.
 Mrs. Albert Applyarth, Baltimore, Md.
 I. Wunderlich, Jamaica, N. Y.
 Margaret Hesler, San Francisco, Calif.
 Carolyn Todd, Piedmont, Calif.
 Mrs. John F. Urie, Brookline, Mass.
 Mrs. Myrtle L. Smith, legislation chairman, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Santa Barbara, Calif.
 Sada G. Tomlinson, Montclair, N. J.
 Vernor M. Schenck, Springfield, Mass.
 Ruth Greve, San Jose, Calif.
 Mrs. H. L. Yeagley, State College, Pa.
 Susan F. Hinman, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Edward P. Rankin, M. D., Berkeley, Calif.
 Winifred Booker, Berkeley, Calif.
 Julia Moran, Oakland, Calif.
 Mrs. Helen Hardy, Lincoln Junior High School, Oakland, Calif.
 Emilie A. Quinn, Oakland, Calif.
 Rev. R. Jespersen, Cordova, Nebr.
 Katherine C. Rankin, Berkeley, Calif.
 L. J. Shafer, Committee of International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches, New York City (petition, 36 signatures).
 Petition of 16, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Petition of 16 signatures, Milwaukee, Wis.
 J. Isabel Miller, Warren H. Wilson Vocational Junior College, Swannanoa, N. C.

Dr. Emma K. Willits, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Laura Pavey, Christian Church (15 signatures), St. Louis, Mo.
 Frank H. Allen, Lakewood, Ohio.
 G. E. Fuller, Brewster, Mass.
 Mabel I. Rich, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Prof. Benjamin R. Andrews, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

Mrs. Elizabeth R. Andrews, Edgewater, N. J.
 E. D. Breed, Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. Charles F. Karnopp, Winnetka, Ill.
 Walter Lanphear, Chaplin, Conn.
 Dr. William L. Nute, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Dr. Frederick W. Brink, Presbyterian university pastor, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Mrs. Richard L. Day, North Andover, Mass.
 Rev. Alfred Schmalz, Darien, Conn.
 R. N. Boardman, New York City.

Rev. James E. Hoffman, stated clerk, General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
 Rev. Rockwell Harmon Potter, chairman, Hartford Committee on United China Relief, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn.
 Ray C. Harker, Hollywood, Calif.
 Addie E. Benedict, Pasadena, Calif.
 Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, New York City.
 Mrs. Orey E. Richards, Palmyra, N. Y.
 Rev. Galen T. Lehman, Church of the Brethren, Huntington, Ind.
 Gale Seaman, San Gabriel, Calif.
 S. Osgood Andrews, New York City.
 Lee Barrie, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Rev. Luther Ballou, Meansville-Woodbury Parish of Congregational Christian Churches, Woodbury, Ga.
 Edwin A. Beck, Tiffin, Ohio.
 Rev. C. Everard Deems, chairman, the Livingston Avenue Baptist Church, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Paul A. Friedrich, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Albert E. Moorman, Conway, Mo.
 Wallace Witmer Anderson, DD., minister, State Street Congregational Church, Portland, Maine.
 L. E. Connerlev, P. O. Box 267, Kittick, Calif.
 May Kirby, Public Affairs Committee of Flint Young Women's Christian Association, Flint, Mich.
 C. Milo Connick, Boston, Mass.
 Milton T. Stauffer, Second Reformed Church, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Margaret Morgan, president of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Bradenton, Fla. (62 signatures).
 Helen C. McCrossen, Tucson, Ariz.
 Dorothy X. Peacock, Marion Peacock, Edith Peacock, Berkeley, Calif.
 Robert W. Searle, the Greater New York Federation of Churches, New York, N. Y.

Catherine S. Hobart, Oakland, Calif.
 John G. Green, Boston, Mass.
 R. P. Jeschke, Dayton, Ohio.
 Mrs. A. E. Thuevet, Millburn, N. J.
 W. Rieolby, Jr., Seattle, Wash.
 Emilie C. Badley, Napa, Calif.
 Moses M. Bailey, Portland, Maine.
 Mrs. E. R. Moravee, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. S. H. Graves, president, St. Cloud Branch, St. Cloud, Minn.
 Genevieve S. Connick, Boston, Mass.
 Elsie E. Shirsper, executive director, Jewish Committee for Personal Service, Northern California District.
 E. C. Young, San Francisco, Calif.
 (Mrs.) Fleischer, Robert Fleischer, Brattleboro, Vt.
 Louise E. Remington, New York, N. Y.
 A. Cornell, Middleton, Idaho.
 Helen Burnett, Southborough, Mass.
 Mary Bartelme, Carmel, Calif.
 Viola C. Thompson (Mrs. W. H. Thompson), Columbus, Ohio.
 Clark Walker Cummings, executive secretary, the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis.

Mrs. Willard Pohe, Detroit, Mich.
 Willsie Martin, Wilshire Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Ruth Thomas, Newport, R. I.
 (Miss) Lillie Pearce, Seventh Street Christian Church, Richmond, Va.
 Alfonso Gonzalez, New York, N. Y.
 Andrew de Veau, New York, N. Y.
 D. Myers, New York, N. Y.
 John Ross, New York, N. Y.
 Wannel Alemany, New York, N. Y.
 Thomas Grosso, New York, N. Y.
 Anthony Ippolito, New York, N. Y.
 R. C. Wong, New York, N. Y.
 Esther M. Dixon, San Jose, Calif.
 Mare Desgraves, New York, N. Y.

Clyde Foster, New York, N. Y.
 Samuel Baptiste, New York, N. Y.
 John Askew, New York, N. Y.
 Thomas Frezza, New York, N. Y.
 David Walwyn, New York, N. Y.
 Herbert R. Latman, New York, N. Y.
 Jury S. Cohen, New York, N. Y.
 H. F. Wallace, secretary, social relations division, A. G. Adams, executive secretary, Wisconsin Council of Churches.
 M. T. Dower, Willits, Calif.
 Mrs. Alda Jourdan, secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Portland, Oreg.
 Lawrence E. Hobart, Berkeley, Calif.
 Dr. and Mrs. R. E. Worley, San Diego, Calif.
 L. C. McRae, San Francisco, Calif.
 Geneva S. Dilley, North Hill, Athens, Ohio.
 Compton I. White, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. Belle H. Seagen, San Francisco, Calif.
 Estelle H. Reynolds, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Josephine P. Borda, San Francisco, Calif.
 M. J. Paterson Fresno, Calif.
 Lucretia B. Traver, secretary to the board, Trenton, N. J.
 Adeline Schierloh, Virginia L. Young, New York, N. Y.
 Emmet Crozier, editor, The World Ahead, New York, N. Y.
 Althea J. Kay, New York, N. Y.
 Chester H. Rowell, chairman, Citizens for Victory, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mirian E. Muller, president; Jacob C. Auemheimer, secretary; Reddley, Calif.
 Helen M. Grant, Oakland, Calif.
 Cornelia Underwood, Hollywood, Calif.
 Henri L. G. Kieffer, Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Md.
 (Mrs.) Dorothea D. Kittredge, Berkeley, Calif.
 Ama Gillingham, Bronxville, N. Y.
 Rousas John Rushdoony, Berkeley, Calif.
 John Diehl, chairman, committees of correspondence, Yellow Springs, Ohio.
 Mrs. S. H. Christianson, Houston, Tex.
 Walter Dimmins, Berkeley, Calif.
 Elam J. Anderson, president, University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif.
 T. Sperling, San Francisco, Calif.
 M. M. Gillett, Santa Maria, Calif.
 (Mrs.) Clara T. Link, chairman, industrial committee, Young Women's Christian Association, San Francisco, Calif.
 W. S. Bittner, associate director, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
 Mrs. S. E. Coofcer, Kokomo, Ind.
 (Miss) Helen M. Weight, Lakewood, Ohio.
 Grace Wegner, Northfield, Minn.
 H. A. Beadle, Glastonbury, Conn.
 Blanche Price, Oakland, Calif.
 Louise Roane, Oakland, Calif.
 Ernest Ingold, president, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, Calif.
 W. L. Montgomery, manager, world trade department, San Francisco, Calif.
 Robert Tom, San Francisco, Calif.
 Elizabeth Begaquin, Southboro, Mass.
 Lena Della Vedova, secretary, Young Women's Christian Association, Ottumwa, Iowa.
 Dorothy E. Oeven, Oakland, Calif.
 Julius Catiesi, California.
 John W. Buekdrain, Berkeley, Calif.
 Philip B. Sovenz, Princeton, N. J.
 Paul Dairs, Columbus, Ga.
 Mrs. Paul M. Rose, San Perlita, Tex.
 Charlotte Collahan, San Francisco, Calif.
 Floyd Mereer, Compton, Calif.
 Max D. Graves, M. D., Providence Hospital, Kansas City, Kans.
 Philip A. Joss, Donald R. Fessler, for the commission, Portland Council of Churches, Portland, Oreg.
 M. Shaine, H. Kaiden, New York, N. Y.

Leonora Bickland, Los Angeles, Calif.
 H. Coucle, Pasadena, Calif.
 Mrs. A. Doble, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mary Whittam, San Francisco, Calif.
 Clara M. Rickard, secretary of the public affair committee, Young Women's Christian Association, Alliance, Ohio.
 Florence L. Logan, San Francisco, Calif.
 James R. Smucker, Wooster, Ohio.
 Fred W. Errett, Camp Antelope, Coleville, Calif.
 Mrs. J. D. Bragg, president, Mrs. Fred Lamb, secretary, New York, N. Y.
 Alice Rigley Moore, board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.
 Paul E. Johnson, Boston University School of Theology, Auburndale, Mass.
 Date F. Metcalfe, Georgia A. Metcalfe, Long Beach, Calif.
 Margaret Anderson, editor, Common Ground, New York, N. Y.
 Richard Quacy, 39043304, Company G, Sixteenth O. M. T. R., Fort Francis E. Warren, Wyo.
 Donald S. Strong, chairman, social action committee, University Community Church, Austin, Tex.
 James R. Webb, Jr., Arco-Taylor Methodist Circuit, Arco, Ga.
 Elizabeth Moore, St. Louis, Mo.
 Mrs. S. E. Engler, president, Reba M. Richardson, secretary, New Windsor, Md.
 John M. Gordon, Montauk, N. Y.
 J. O. Senn, St. Louis, Mo.
 (Miss) Evelyn C. Bassett, International Institute Secretary, the Young Women's Christian Association, Dayton, Ohio.
 Eleanor R. Brooks, Ohio Federation of Baptist Young People, Box 114, Granville, Ohio.
 Clarence E. Parr, the Plymouth Congregational Church, Fargo, N. Dak.
 Anna Clark, Oakland, Calif.
 Marie Zeller, Guttentbury, N. J.
 Theodore D. M. Coun, Berkeley, Calif.
 Margaret Harriss, Berkeley 4, Calif.
 Helena P. Gaus, Central Park West, New York, N. Y.
 Maude V. Randael, Oakland, Calif.
 James H. Woodruff, West Side Christian Church, San Francisco, Calif.
 Katharine Sandholdt, San Jose, Calif.
 Priscilla Wicks, Christian Friends for Racial Equality, Seattle, Wash.
 Waner H. Stewart, Sykesville, Md.
 Edwin Louthurst, Oakland, Calif.
 G. Merrill Leuox, the ministers and missionaries benefit board of the Northern Baptist Convention, New York, N. Y.
 J. H. Brown, the Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church, Parkersburg, Pa.
 F. G. James, Sweeney & James Co., advertising and merchandising, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Rose Pauline Hali, Wakefield, R. I.
 J. C. Collnic, Haverford, Pa.
 Isidor Englander, New York City, N. Y.
 Z. B. Edworthy, general secretary, the West Virginia Council of Churches and Christian Education, Charleston, W. Va.
 H. Kaetham, New York City, N. Y.
 Mrs. C. C. Weaver, president, Women's Society of Christian Service, Winston-Salem, N. C.
 Mrs. J. Ko Kalis, San Francisco, Calif.
 Emily A. L. Vidal, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. John Scaffuric, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Elaine Rogers, San Francisco, Calif.
 Irene Rhoades, San Francisco, Calif.
 Helen Catapodi, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mabel L. F. DeVinny, executive secretary, board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.
 Ethel M. Ard, Pasadena, Calif.
 Caroline Harris, Pasadena, Calif.
 L. D. Smydev, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Mabel Ball.
 George Gleason, county of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Mary M. Crowder, San Francisco, Calif.

Clinton S. Harley, president, China Club of Seattle, Seattle, Wash.
 George Gleam, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Mrs. Paul A. Friedrich, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Mrs. H. B. Helmsley, New York, N. Y.
 Mrs. Helen R. Watson, Seattle, Wash.
 Joe T. Hardeman, J. T. Hardeman Hat Co., Seattle, Wash.
 Blawhe E. Atkws, Socloud, Minn.
 Berind Harker D. O., Hollywood, Calif.
 Cyril Endfield, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Martha M. Faulkner, San Leandro, Calif.
 Albert D. North, Los Gatos, Calif.
 Wright M. Horton, Frankfort, Kans.
 Edmund J. Lee, Chatham Hall, Chatham, Va.
 Edna S. Davenport, Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. John A. Baker, Westport, Conn.
 Grace E. Berry, Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
 Ernest T. Thompson, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.
 Barbara Lewis, board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.
 Hugh J. McNelly, the Methodist Church, Fishkill, N. Y.
 Mrs. James Macpherson, Denver, Colo.
 Rev. Leonard Helie, Four Freedoms Fellowship of Brookline, Brookline, Mass.
 Theodora L. Paine, Troy, Pa.
 Mrs. Helen Street Rawey, Claremont, Calif.
 Garfield Evans, Iglesia Methodist, Holguin, Cuba.
 H. M. Daggett, Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, executive secretary, diocesan council, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Miriam V. Ristine, New York, N. Y.
 H. Ressler Brown, W. Carrollton, O.
 Mrs. Elizabeth Skinner Jackson, instructor in sociology, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla.
 R. K. Lane, president, Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, Tulsa, Okla.
 Mrs. Carolyn Thompson, Sacramento, Calif.
 Ruth Rinehart, Westminster, Md.
 Dorothy Elderdice, librarian, Westminster, Md.
 C. S. Baker, Berkeley, Calif.
 J. U. Simmons, Denair, Calif.
 Gordon D. Miller, Sacramento, Calif.
 Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Lathrop, Sacramento, Calif.
 A. Business Wornard, Oakland, Calif.
 Mrs. Mary V. Pryal, Lytton, Calif.
 Marion Turner, San Francisco, Calif.
 H. A. Sessions, San Jose, Calif.
 A. B. Van Tassel, Oakland, Calif.
 Lillian E. Factor, secretary, 15 teachers, Jackson Heights, N. Y.
 Drew Chidester, San Francisco, Calif.
 Fifteen signatures, Woman's Society of Christian Service, the Methodist Church, Anadarko, Okla., (Mrs. H. F. Patton).
 Charming P. Harris, Esther Alsop Harris, Westport, Conn.
 Miss M. Lornse, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Westminster, Md.
 Clarence Reed, First Unitarian Church, Oakland, Calif.
 Beth B. Titus, Traverse City, Mich.
 Grace W. Donnan, Mill Valley, Calif.
 Susan F. Donnan, Mill Valley, Calif.
 K. O. D. Harkes, Mill Valley, Calif.
 L. C. Smith, pastor, Community Baptist Church, Brisbane, Calif.
 George E. Gunner, San Carlos, Calif.
 Sammuell Hepburn, Palo Alto, Calif.
 Gilbert H. Russell, Berkeley, Calif.
 T. O. Rinker, vice principal, Chico High School, Chico, Calif.
 Ensley Tiffin, Memphis, Tenn.
 Miss Almeda A. Holmes, Hillsboro, N. H.
 Mrs. J. Warren Hastings, Washington, D. C.
 Lulu Callen, San Francisco, Calif.

May D. Schermerhorn, Evanston, Ill.
 William G. Mather, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
 Elizabeth LeB. Bade, San Diego, Calif.
 Sam Hepburn, Palo Alto, Calif.
 James E. Scott, San Francisco, Calif.
 Dr. Viola Lantz, 578 South Eleventh Street, San Jose, Calif.
 J. G. Harman, Kelseyville, Calif.
 Mrs. Acker, San Francisco, Calif.
 E. Bacon, Modesto, Calif.
 Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Young, San Francisco, Calif.
 Harry Joseph, San Francisco, Calif.
 Emily M. Dodge, Stockton, Calif.
 (Miss) Laura Treat, San Francisco, Calif.
 Cora B. Rackle, Hayward, Calif.
 Louis Blumenthal, San Francisco, Calif.
 Arma D. Omlohn, Carmel, N. Y.
 Mrs. Henry Duhrles, Carmel, N. Y.
 Ambrose R. Nickols, Jr., Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. M. T. Scudder, Carmel, N. Y.
 George W. Philly, "Sky Trails," Pacific, Calif. 6:20:43.
 Mabel Ball, Carmel, N. Y.
 Vaughn Backman Brokaw, Del Rosa, Calif.
 Ethel M. Allen, Boston, N. Y.
 Alice C. Butler, Denver, Colo.
 Mrs. F. R. Millican, Furlough Fellowship of Service, Seattle, Wash.
 Mrs. Lowell Glaze, Sedalia, Mo.
 Inez Campbell, Seattle, Wash.
 George F. Childs, Young Men's Business Club of Tacoma, Tacoma, Wash.
 Miss Glesca Marshall, Hollywood, Calif.
 Edwin B. Stevens, president, Seattle, Wash.
 Christian Youth Council of North America, Chicago, Ill.
 Eleanor Ring, Seattle, Wash.
 Henry Croes, Seattle, Wash.
 Prof. Jesse F. Steiner, chairman, department of sociology, four signatures.
 J. C. Haley, executive secretary, Tacoma Council of Churches, Tacoma, Wash.
 Glesca Marshall, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Mrs. John H. Arnett, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mrs. George A. Goodell, Louisville, Ky.
 Mary E. Scott, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Dwight M. Beck, Syracuse, N. Y.
 J. J. White, Route 1, Upland, Calif., 22 signatures.
 G. A. Joslin, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Josephine Valentine, Albany, N. Y.
 Mrs. E. A. Speer, Seattle, Wash.
 Jacqueline Fiedler, Langdon, Iowa, six signatures.
 Rev. and Mrs. Archie R. Crouch, Furlough Fellowship of Service, Seattle, Wash.
 Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Mississippi, Sherard, Miss.
 Mrs. W. H. Vennboer, board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.
 Charles C. Noble, First Methodist Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Ruth Lee Harrington, executive girl reserve department, the Young Women's Christian Association, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Charles A. Bemis, chairman, public affairs committee, Seattle, Wash.
 Mrs. Leigh J. Doane, Pomona, Calif.
 Mrs. Awee Fry Smith, Orelan, Pa.
 John T. Winchell, South Pasadena, Calif.
 J. Theron Dlick, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Julia W. Cockcraft, Seattle, Wash.
 Mrs. J. B. Dean, West Haven, Conn.
 F. E. Spicer, Abilene, Kans.
 Mrs. Kenneth R. Keller, Berkeley, Calif.
 Wallace W. Mitchell, San Francisco, Calif.
 Ruth E. Humphries, Claremont, Calif.

Edwin O. Grover, Winter Park, Fla.
 Mrs. Mary Ward Parker, Fairmont, West Va.
 Margart J. Stewart, Denver, Colo.
 Mary M. Tarrant, St. Louis, Mo.
 Thomas S. Evans, executive secretary, the University Religious Conference, Los Angeles, Calif.
 James G. Ncedham.
 Edwin T. Dahlberg, First Baptist Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
 J. Martin Singeton, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, Tex.
 Marie S. Watkins, San Antonio, Tex.
 Fern Ledgerwood, girl reserve department, the Young Womens Christian Association, San Francisco, Calif.
 David L. Woodward, First Baptist Church, Salisbury, N. C.
 Corwin L. Shank, Seattle, Wash.
 Etta B. Agee, Los Angeles, Calif.
 William Melcher, professor of business administration, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.
 Rev. Ferdinand Q. Blanchard, D. D., Congregational Christian Church, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Gertrude C. Bussey, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Maryland Branch, Baltimore, Md.
 Mrs. Robert T. Anderson, Phoenix, Ariz.
 G. F. Hedstrand, editor, Covenant Weekly, Chicago, Ill.
 Grace E. Nickols, Healdsburg, Calif.
 Kate Wilson, Corte Maders, Calif.
 Mrs. A. R. Quary, Seattle, Wash.
 Henry A. McNulty, Beverly, N. J.
 Sara S. Gilson, Boston, Mass.
 Cameron P. Hall, board of Christian education, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Alin Rafter, Seattle, Wash.
 Robert E. Romig, May Memorial Unitarian Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Paul S. Peirce, Winter Park, Fla.
 E. Howard McClintock, Northminster Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ohio.
 Elsie D. Newton, executive secretary, International Institute, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Mrs. O. F. Lamson, chairman, China-American Students Friendship Association, Seattle, Wash.
 Mrs. E. D. Gaylord, Claremont, Calif.
 Helen S. Kochheiser, Young Women's Christian Association, Mansfield, Ohio.
 Herbert Welch, Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, New York, N. Y.
 Mrs. Wm. A. Fulk, Detroit, Mich.
 Mrs. Henry H. Bonnell, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Bertha E. King, Towson, Md.
 Miss Emily G. Balch, Wellesley, Mass.
 Mrs. Charles H. Lyttle, corresponding secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Chicago, Ill.
 Joseph Conord, San Francisco, Calif.
 Richard M. Johnson, Cyrtthia W. Johnson, Hartwick, N. Y.
 Eugene E. Barnett, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Association, New York, N. Y.
 Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Gibbons, Cleveland, Ohio.
 A. D. Faupell, leader, Fellowship of Humanity, Oakland, Calif.
 Halle D. Woods, Mountain Lakes, N. J.
 Mrs. Frank B. Frederick, American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.
 Edith K. Chaplin, Berkeley Avenue, Claremont, Calif.
 A. Delenikoe, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. Basie P. George, San Francisco, Calif.
 Cebert Baillargeon, president, Seattle Trust & Savings Bank, Seattle, Wash.
 Clarence A. Hanna, Minister, the First Church of Christ, Tonawanda, N. Y.
 Mrs. John B. Hicks, Fairmont, W. Va.
 Mrs. Charles Haniman, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Wesley F. Rennie, chairman, Seattle, Wash.
 Edwin L. Clarke, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.
 Mrs. W. Scott Hill, Westport, Conn.
 Mr. Ira R. Ruckman, New Brunswick, N. J.

Mrs. Stanley Bowjonklis, San Francisco, Calif.
 Edwin Adams, Associate English, Seattle, Wash., 16 signatures.
 Ned Black, Black & Black Architectural Offices, Harrisburg, Pa.
 Insung Chun, New York, N. Y.
 Frederick E. Reissig, executive secretary, Washington Federation of Churches, Washington, D. C.
 Nellie C. Grant, secretary of Candlelight Group, Northfield, Minn.
 Mrs. Earl V. Moseley, Alliance, Ohio, 51 signatures.
 Mrs. Adolph Bock, San Diego, Calif.
 J. W. Shirley, Philadelphia, Pa.
 S. B. Perry, Northport, N. Y.
 James Rooney, Providence, R. I.
 H. Leroy Baumgartner, New Haven, Conn.

X